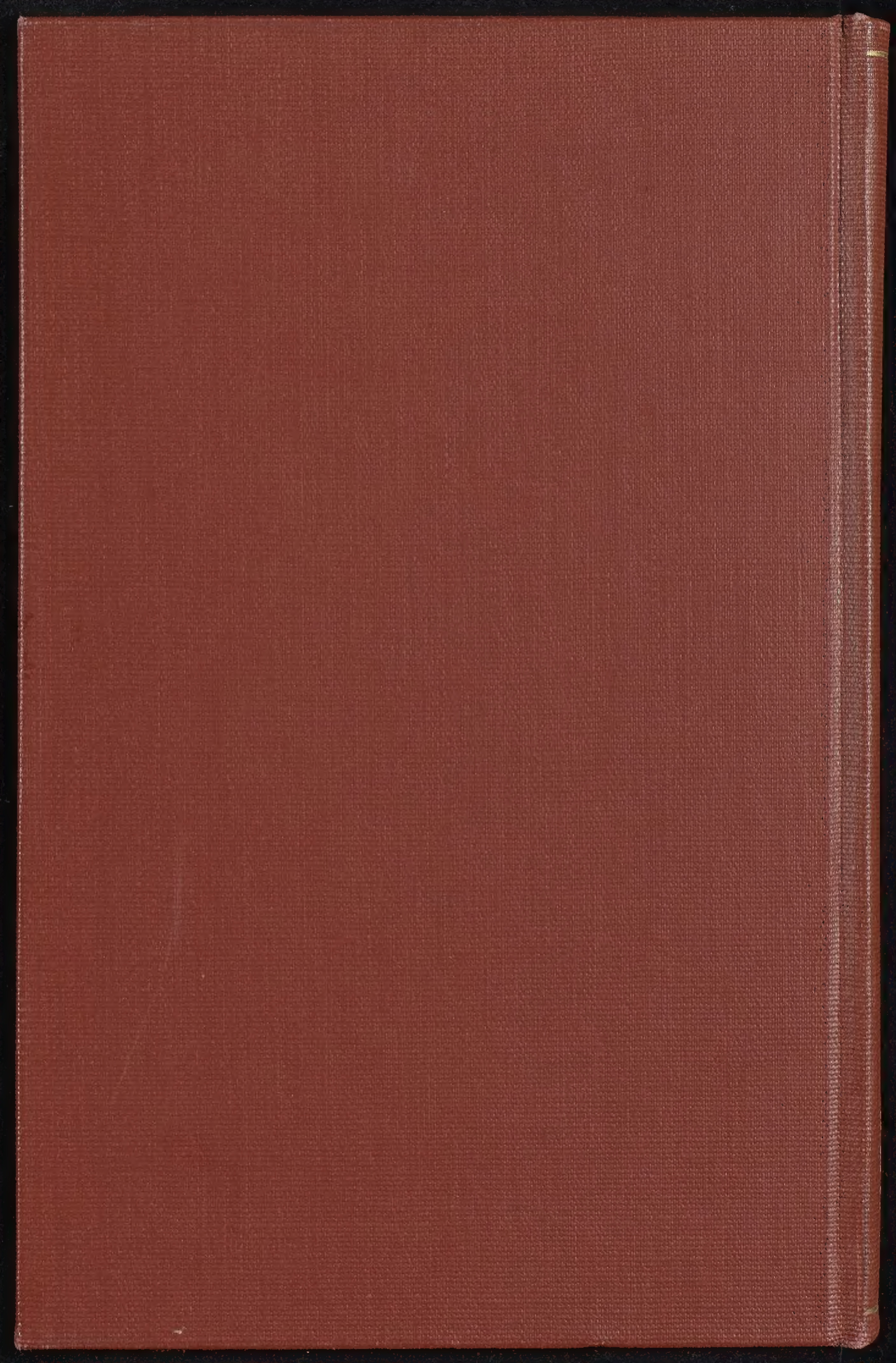
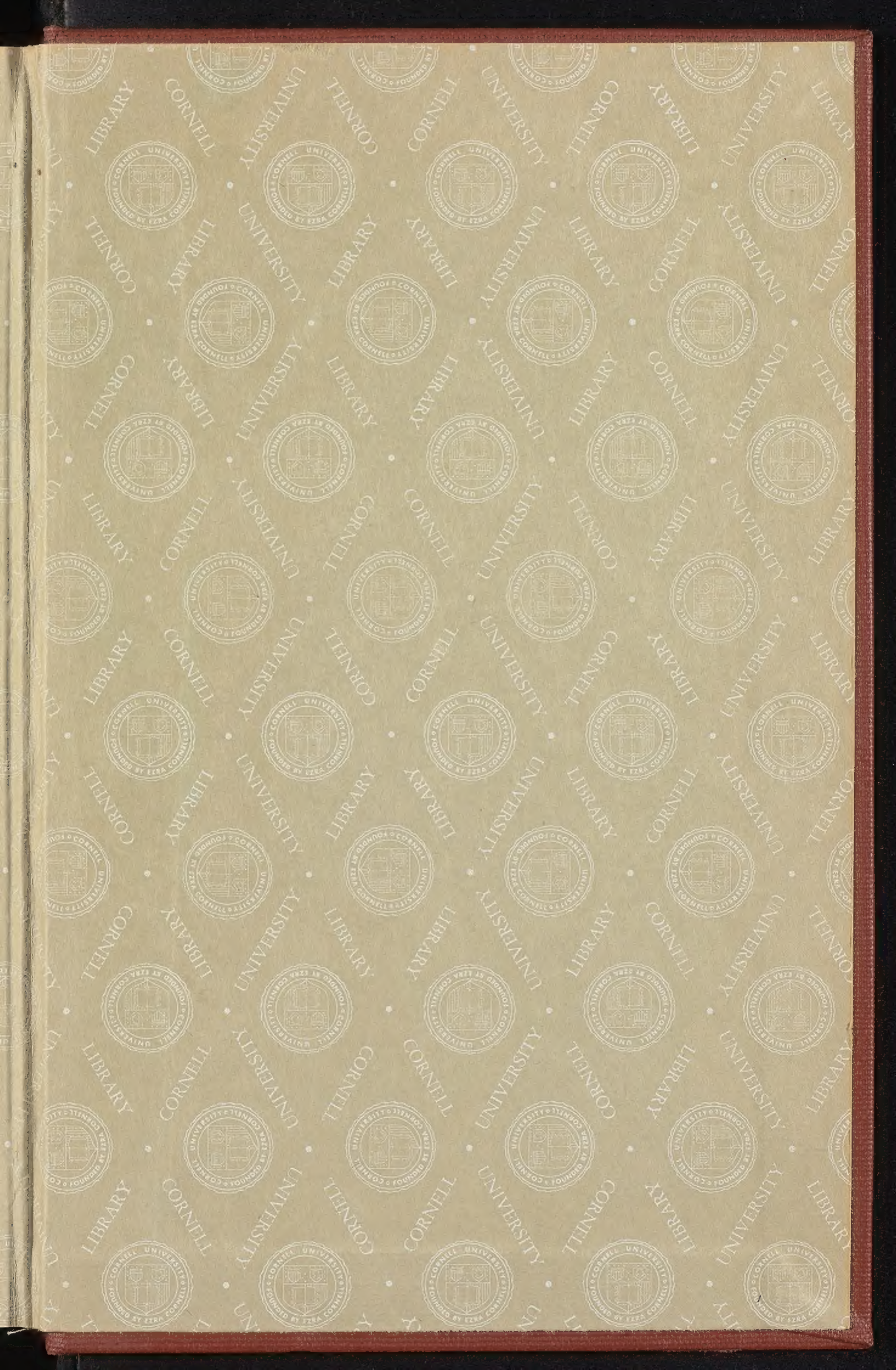
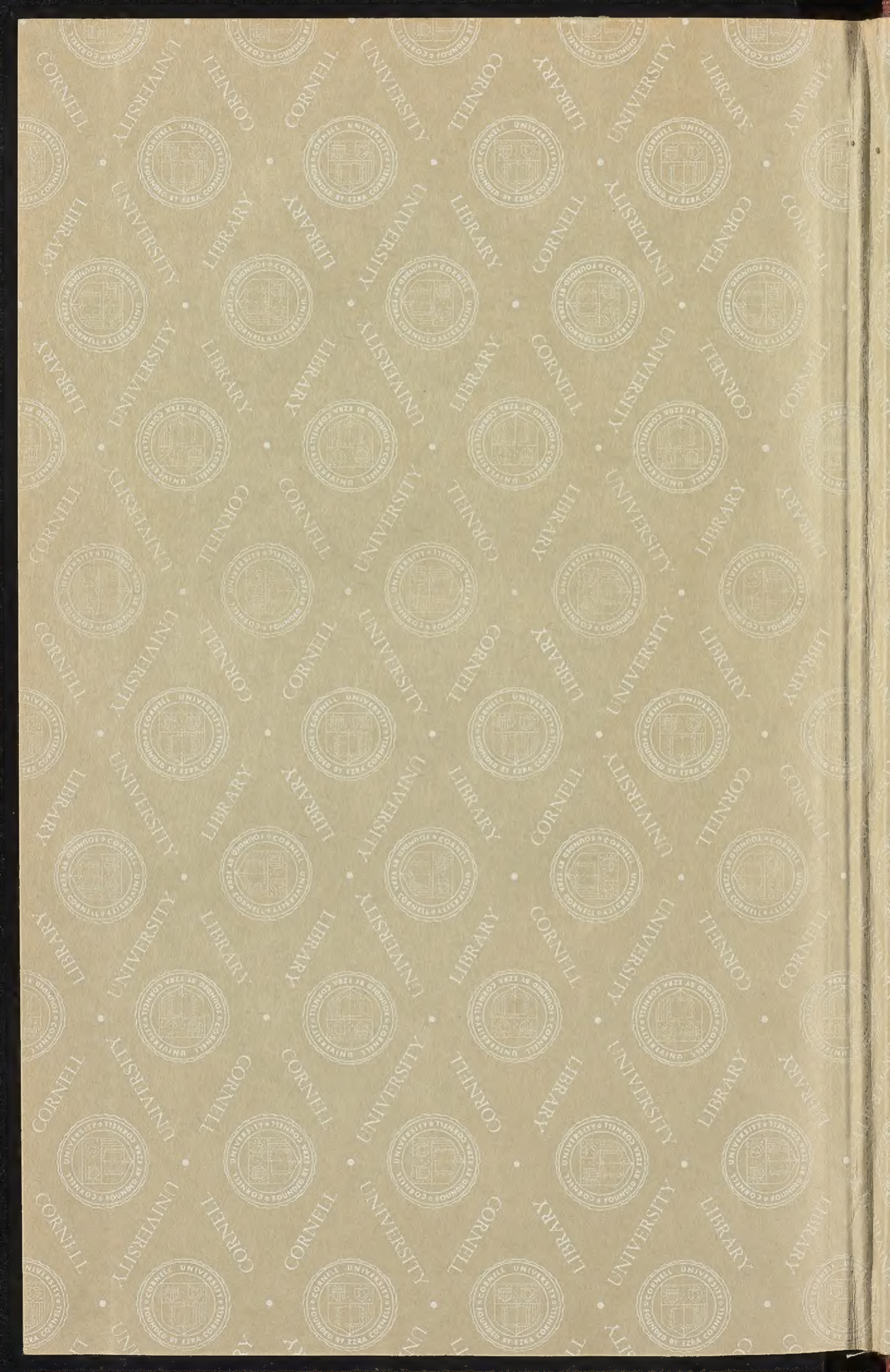
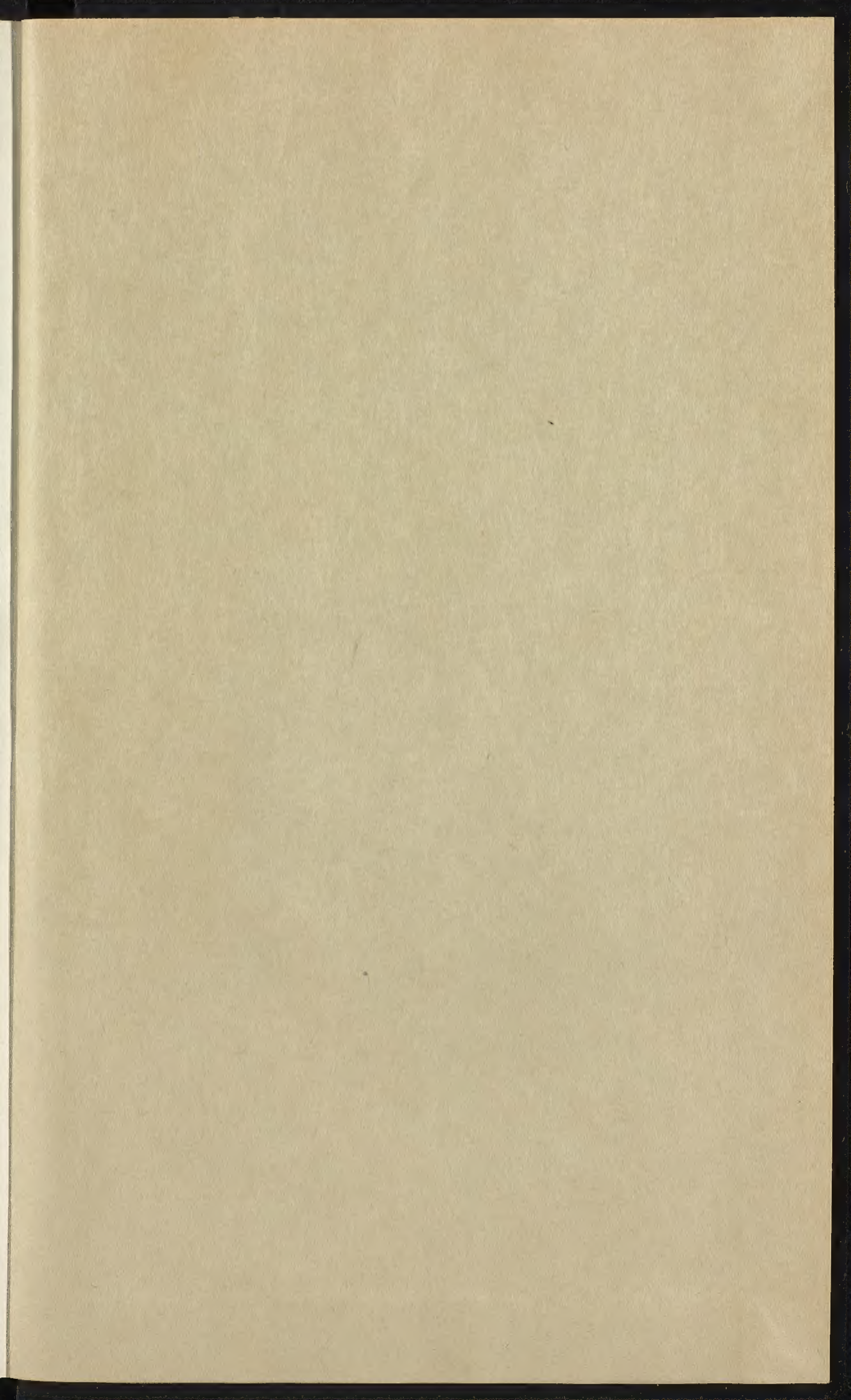
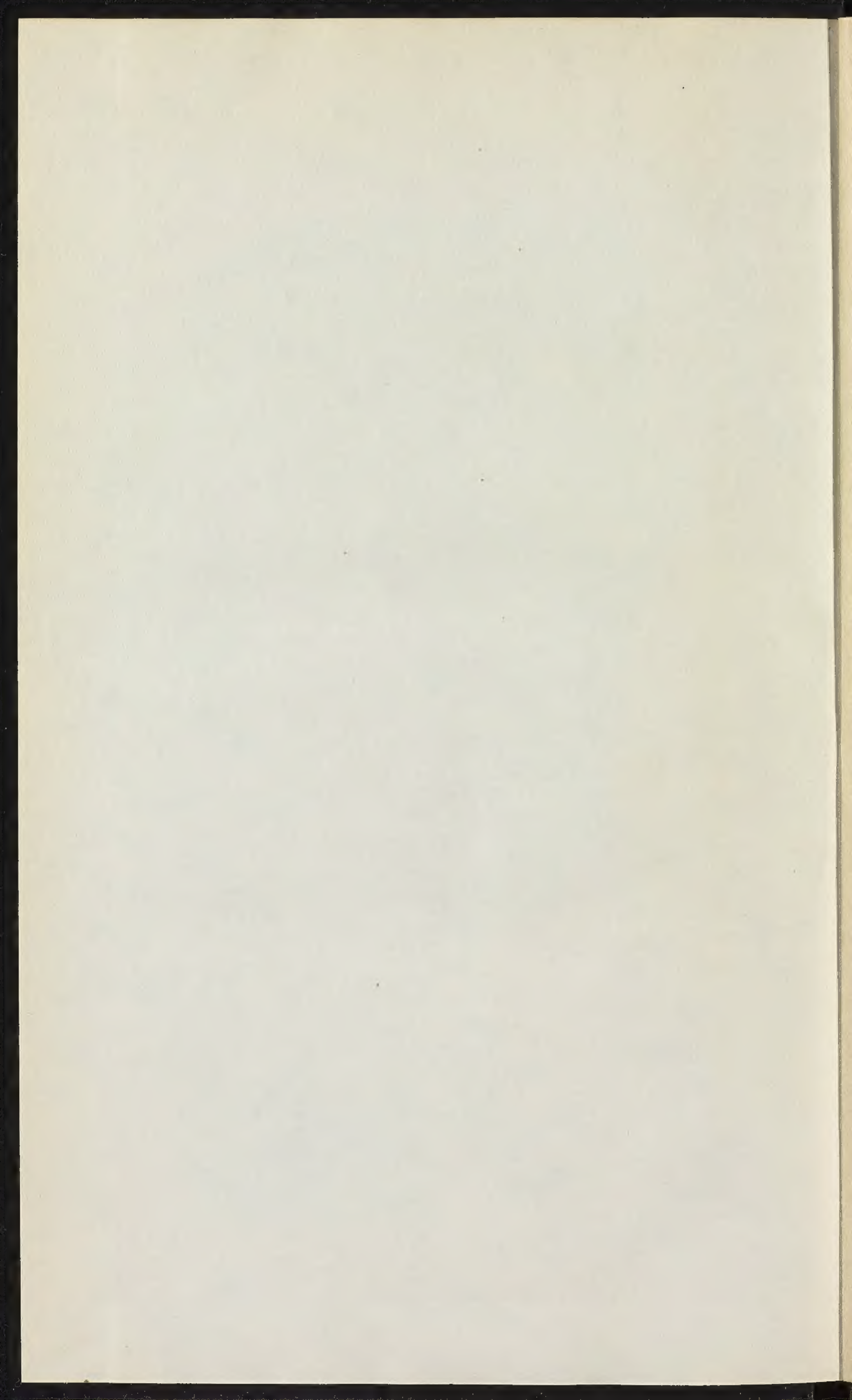
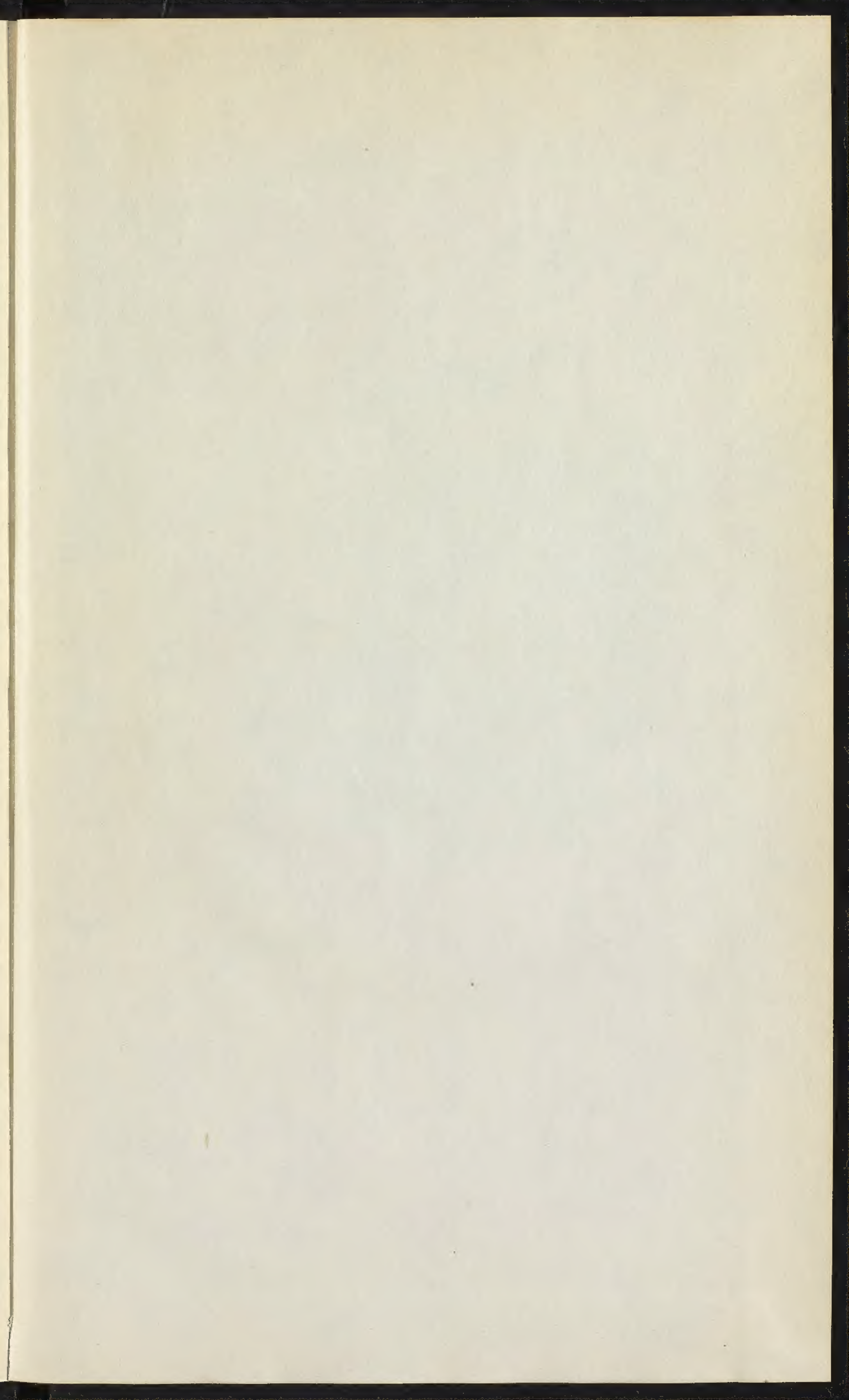








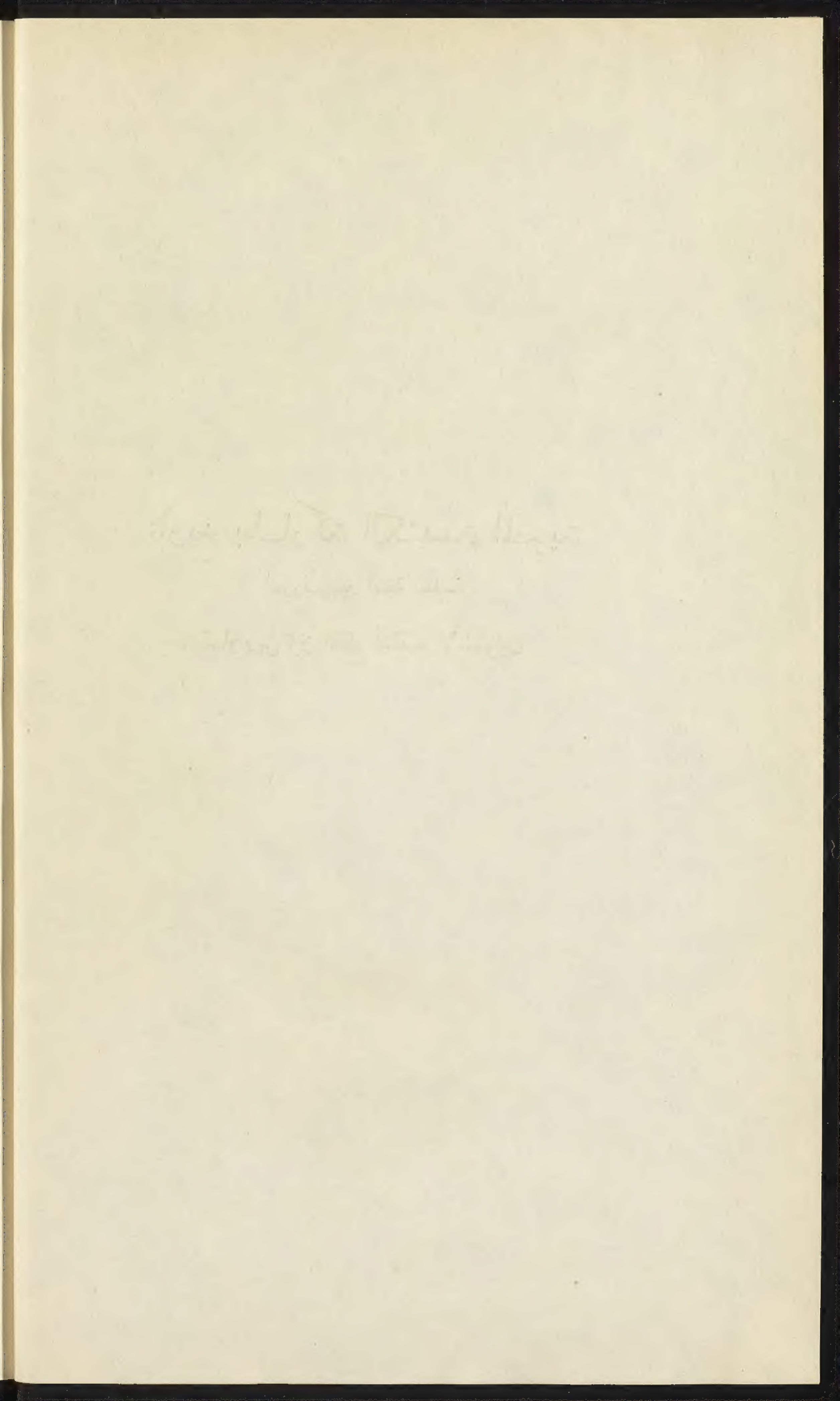




تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

المعروف بسير البيعة المقدسة

لساويرس ابن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين



مطبوعات جمعية الآثار القبطية

قسم النصوص والوثائق

تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

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لساويرس بن المقفع أسقف الأشمونين

المجلد الثاني

الجزء الثاني

من البطريرك خاييل الثالث الى البطريرك شنوده الثانى

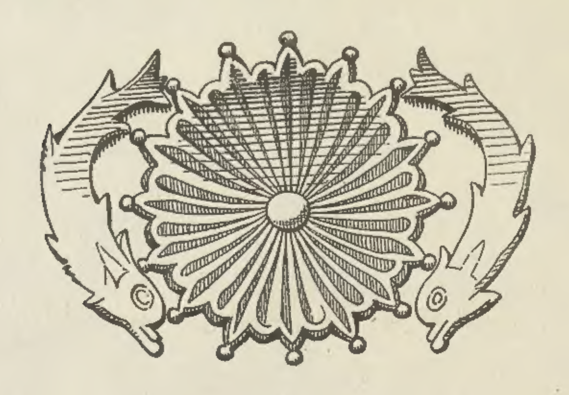
(٨٨٠ — ١٠٦٦م)

قام على نشره

يسى عبد المسيح
امين مكتبة المتحف القبطى

عزيز سوريال عطيه
أستاذ تاريخ العصور الوسطى
بجامعة فاروق الأول بالأسكندرية

أسولد برمستر
مدرس أول للغات القديمة بجامعة فاروق الأول بالأسكندرية



القاهرة — ١٩٤٨

مطبعة المعهد العلمى الفرنسى للآثار الشرقية بالقاهرة

تصـــــدير

يحوى هذا الجزء سير عشرة بطاركة ، من خايال الثالث (ميخائيل الأول) البطريرك السادس والخمسين إلى شنوده الثانى البطريرك الخامس والستين ، ارتقوا الكرسى المرقسى من سنة ٨٨٠ إلى ١٠٦٦ ميلادية .

وقد أخـذ النص عن مخطوطة المتحف القبطى رقم ١ تاريخ جزء ثانٍ (المرموز لها بحرف م) ، ثم استعين فى سد ما بها من غموض أو نقص ، سواء أكان من خطأ النسخ او التجليد ، بمخطوطة مكتبة البطريركية بالاسكندرية رقم ٣ تاريخ (المرموز لها بحرف ا) ، ودون فى الحواشى على المتن ما تيسر من الفروق اللفظية .

* * *

وقد اتبعنا فى نشر هذا الجزء نفس الطريقة التى سرنا عليها فى الجزء الأول ، فلم نتصرف فى النص اللهم إلا فى إرجاع حرفى ت ، د إلى أصليهما ث ، ذ .

سبق وصف الجزء الأول من المخطوطة م فى تصدير الجزء الأول من المجلد الحالى ، وأما الجزء الثانى فهو تكملة الأول ويبدأ من الورقة ١٣٣ (ظ) — وهـذه الورقة بالجزء الأول لصق عليها ورق شفاف وأعيدت كتابتها فى صـدر الجزء الثانى بمعرفة المغفور له مرقس سميكه باشا — وينتهى بالورقة ٢٨٢ (ظ) ، وبه أوراق مرممة يرجع تاريخ الترميم إلى أوائل القرن التاسع عشر فى أثناء بطريركية الأنبا بطرس السابع البطريرك المائة والتاسع (١٨٠٩ — ١٨٥٣ م) ، وذلك بدليل ما جاء فى عبارة واردة بالورقة ٢٠٣ (ظ) ونصها كالآتى :

«اذكر يارب عبدك الحقير الذليل المسكين شنوده بالاسم قمص خادم دير القديس العظيم البار انبا بولا الكبير أول السواح الذى رمم هذه السير يرجوا بذالك العفو والمسامحة بغفران خطاياه بشفاعة من ذكرة اسمايهم فيها وكان ترميم ذالك يوميذ بالقلايه العامرة بالمحروسة فى ايام رياسة السيد الاب الجليل المغبوط الطوبانى ريس الرووسا وسيد السادات الاب المكرم بكل نوع انبا بطرس البطريرك التاسع والمايه من عدد الابا البطاركة ادام الله تعالى علينا رياسته سنينا عديده وازمنه متصله سالمه هاديه مديده بالعمر الطويل والحياه السعيده امين» .

وعدد السطور فى كل صفحة ٢٦ سطراً ، والصفحات الأخيرة بخط المغفور له مرقس سميكه باشا الذى أشار فى أول صفحاته إلى أنه نقلها من النسخة المخطوطة بالدار البطريركية سنة ١٨٩٨[1] وتتراوح عدد سطورها بين ١٨ — ٢٠ سطراً .

ويلاحظ مع شديد الأسف أنه عند تجليد هذه المخطوطة قصت حوافيها فترتب على ذلك ان ضاعت بعض النصوص المتطرفة الموجودة على هوامشه وصعوبة قراءة هذا القسم تزداد شدة وتعقيداً بكثرة الأجزاء المتسخة أو المتآكلة من صفحاتها ولكن استعين بها فى استعادة الأجزاء التى قطعت فى التجليد وايضاح السطور المتآكلة بمقابلتها مع مخطوطة الاسكندرية .

أما مخطوطة الاسكندرية فهى كاملة وفى حالة جيدة جداً ، تتكون من ٢١٤ ورقة ، مقاسها ٢٦,٥×١٦,٥ سم ، ومقاس الجزء المكتوب ١٤×٢٢ سم ، يتراوح عدد الأسطر فى كل صفحة بين ٢١ — ٢٧ وهى مكتوبة بالخط النسخ الكبير فى الأوراق الستة الأولى وبالنسخ المتوسط فى بقية الكتاب والنص محرر بالمداد الأسود ، ورؤوس الموضوعات بالمداد الأحمر ، وهى بقلم واحد على ورق الكتان اللامع ، يميل الى الصفرة وفى أوراقه بعض ترميم وعليها بعض الهوامش بالمداد الأسود والأحمر ،

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[1] هى مخطوطة رقم ١٥ تاريخ بالبطريركية انظر فهرس المخطوطات المحفوظة بمكتبة الدار البطريركية تأليف مرقس سميكه باشا ويسى عبد المسيح ، ١٩٤٢م ، رقم ٦٧٥ ص ٣٠٩ .

وهى مجلدة تجليداً حديثا وتنتهى المخطوطة بسيرة انبا يؤنس السادس البطريرك الرابع والسبعين (١١٨٩ — ١٢١٦ م) يؤيد ذلك الفقرة الآتيـة بالورقة ٢٠٧ (ج) «الاب القديس انبا يونس البطريرك الثانى من الدور الثانى وهو من عـدد الابا البطاركة الرابع والسبعون» وبداية المخطوطة كما يلى : —

«بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد له المجـد . كتاب سير الابا البطاركة رزقنا الله صلواتهم امين . خلفا الاب البشير مارى مرقس الانجيلى المبشر بالانجيل المقدس وبشرى السيد المسيح بالمدينه العظما الاسكندريه واقليم مصر والحبشه والنوبيه والخمس مدن بالغرب وهى افريقيه وما معها» (ورقة ٢ ج) .

ونهايتها كما يأتى : —

«قد اعلمنـاكم ايها الاخوة انار الله عقولكم وقلوبكم لفهم ما تقروه من اسرار كتبه المقدسه وشريعته الطاهره وعجايبه الباهره واياته الظاهره فى قديسيه كما قال النبى داوود فى المزمور ١٤ (١٥) «هو اظهر لقديسيه عجايبه فى ارضه وجعل (فيهم) جميع مسرته» له المجـد دايما الى الابد امين . كمل هـذا الكتاب المبارك فى اليوم الخميس التاسع والعشرين من بؤونه ⲁⲩⲏ (١٤٠٨) (١٦٩٢ م) للشهدا الاطهار شفاعتهم معنا امين» (٢٠٤ (ج)) .



[بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس
اله واحد له المجـد الدايم الى الابد امـين] [1]

١٣٣ (ظ) * نبتدى بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ الجزو الثالث من سير الابا البطاركة الاخيار الاطهار خلفا الاب البشير مارى مرقص الانجيلى صلواته وصلواتهم تحفظنا امين وهم بطاركة القبط بارض مصر المومنين الارتدكسيين الذين جاهدوا وصبروا على كل الم ومشقة ونصب وتعب من المناصبين والهراطقه واعدا البيعة ، ولم يصدهم ذلك عن حب المسيح سيدهم والاعتراف الحسن والاقرار بالامانة المقدسة واقامة منار الدين ، وثبتوا على الامانة المستقيمة التى ورثوها عن ابايهم القديسين الصايرة اليهم من الابا الحواريين تلاميذ السيد المسيح الذين راو وشاهدوا وصنعوا العجايب كما كان سيدهم يصنع واعطاهم السلطان على ذلك وعلى مقاومة الملوك والسلاطين بتاييد الروح القدس الناطق على السنتهم كما وعدهم السيد المسيح له المجد الى الابد امين .

السيرة الثالثة والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة

قال الاب الفاضل انبا ميخاييل اسقف مدينة تنيس ان من الواجب يا احباى لاجل المحبة المسيحية ان نسطر ما اخر تسطيره مما كان فى البيعة الارتدكسيه الذى شاهده وعرفه اوليك الرعاة فى كل جيل ، وكانوا خداما للكلمة وطلبت من الله سبحانه اعانة ضعفى انا البايس الخاطى لابتدى واجعل لسانى الناقص قلم سريع الكتابه لكيما يتحرك بموهبة الروح القدس ، فاكتب ما سمعته وعرفته من الصادقين الذى يقبل قولهم ،

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[1] العبارة غير موجودة فى م

ونسلك مناهج من تقدمنا الذين نالوا النعمة ، لان هذا الامر كان خطر ببالى ان اكمله ، وتشبهت بالامراة الارملة التى القت فى الخزانة الفلسين الحقيرين ولم يكن لها غيرهما فقبلهما الرب فاحص القلوب منها ، ووجدت الذى تضمنته السير الذى رتبها الابا القديسين بقوة الروح القدس هو ما جرت عليه البيعة من زمان الاب القديس الانجيلى مارى مرقص البكر الطاهر الشهيد ، والى زمان الانبا سانوتيوس ، وهو الخامس والخمسين المرسوم بطريركا بعد انبا قسما ، وهذا الاب سانوتيوس هو الذى لحقه شدايد عظيمة حسب ما تضمنته سيرته ومن بعده الى زمان انبا سانوتيوس الخامس والستون الذى وسمى انا الغير مستحق قسا لم يكتب شى من السير ، فكتبت انا البايس ميخاييل ذلك بمعونة الله سبحنه لى .

انبا خاييل البطريرك وهو من العدد السادس والخمسون

لما توفى سانوتيوس البطريرك الذى بنى هيكل مارى مرقص بالاسكندرية ، وثبت هذا الهيكل ماية وخمسة عشر سنة اقسم من بعده انبا خايال ، وكان ذو خصال ثلثة جميلة تشبه الذهب المسبوك فى النار لاجل التجارب التى لحقته وصبر عليها . وذلك انه كان على كرسى سخا اسقف شرير ، وكان من جملة كرسيه الضيعة المعروفة بدنوشر ، وكان فيها بيعة على اسم الشهيد طلماوس تحتاج الى تكريز ، فاجتمع روسا الناحية إلى الاب البطرك انبا خايال والابا الاساقفة الذين حضروا معه التكريز وسالوهم الحضور الى البيعه لينالوا بركتهم فحضروا جميعا واجتمع شعب عظيم ، وحضروا وقت القداس ، ١٣٤ (جـ) وكان اسقف سخا المذكور غايب عن البيعة مهتم بعمل طعام لهم ، وتصرم النهار* وجاز وقت القـداس ، فانفذوا الى الاسقف فلم يحضر لانه مشتغل بما ذكرنا . فسالوا الاساقفة والجماعة الاب البطرك ان يحمل القربان على الهيكل لتبتدى الكهنة بقراة الكتب وتفسيرها على حال رفق ومهلة الى ان يحضر الاسقف ، ففعل ذلك . ومن

بعد هذا حضر الاسقف فوجدهم قد بدوا قبل حضوره ، فغضب وقال للبطرك بضجر
من جعل لك ان تفعل هذا فى كرسيى بغير امرى ولا حضورى . ثم تقدم الى الهيكل
واخذ الدورن الذى حمل عليه كسره ورماه وخرج مغضبا ، فصعب ذلك على الاب
البطرك وعلى جميع الحاضرين ، ثم اخذوا ظورن اخر حملوه على الهيكل وكملوا القداس
وقربوا الناس . فلما كان بالغداة جلس الاب البطرك واجتمع اليه الاساقفة وقطعوا
ذلك الاسقف وقدموا غيره . فلما علم ذلك داخله الشيطان ، وتسلط عليه الغضب ،
فمضى الى الامير المتولى بفسطاط مصر من قبل الخليفة وهو احمد ابن طولون النايب
عن خليفة بغداد ، وكان محب لجمع المال ، فشكا له البطرك واغراه عليه ، وقال له
ان معه مال عظيم وكان ابن طولون مهتم بتجريد عسكر الشام ففرح بقول الاسقف
لياخذ من البطرك ما ينفقه فى العسكر فانفذ واحضر الاب البطرك وخاطبه قايلا
انت تعلم ما نحتاج اليه من الاموال برسم الحمل الى الخليفة ببغداد لانه صاحب هذه
الارض ، وبخاصة لما عليه من الحروب وانتم يا مقدمى النصارى تحت سلامه ، وما
تحتاجوا الى ذهب ولا فضة الا خبز تاكلوه وثوب تلبسوه ، وقد عرفت ان لك مال
كثير وانية لا تحصى ذهب وفضة وديباج وانواع الحرير للبيع ، وانا احبك واوقر
شيخوختك ، وقد احضرتك بغير اجحاف ولا عنف ، لانك يجب ان تكرم ولا تهان
فادفع لى ما عندك لاحمله الى الخليفة فتجد به عنده وعندى نعمة . فسكت البطرك
ولم يدرى ماذا يجيبه ، ثم قال له بسكينة وتواضع ان مملكتكم ليس فيها ظلم ، وانتم
قوم تعرفون الحق وانا انسان ضعيف لا املك ذهبا ولا فضة ولا شيا مما سعى به
اليك ، وعظمتك تعلم انا قوم مامورين ان لانكنز كنوزا على الارض ولا نهتم بغد ،
والان فانا بين يديك افعل ما تريد ، فسلطانك على جسدى ، وروحى بيد خالقها .
فلما سمع احمد ابن طولون ذلك غضب وقال حقا ان اكرامى لك اوجب انكارك على
بمالك ، وكلمن هو خارج عن ديننا اذا اكرم لا يعرف الاكرام . ثم امر بحبسه ، وكان
فى الحبس الذى اعتقل فيه انسانا رييس يعرف بابن المدبر ، وكان رجلا مامون يحب

الصدقة كثير المال ، فكان يخدم البطرك ويصوم معه ويفطر معه على خبز وملح وباقلا[١]
مصلوق وما يجرى مجراه . وكان ذلك الرييس لا ياكل شيا مما يحمل اليه من داره
فاقام معه فى الحبس سنة ، وكان الحبس مملوا جدا وبعد انقضا السنة دفع البطرك للسجان
شيا حتى عمل له بيت ما طوب وطين طوله ذراعين فى ذراعين ليلا يكون يريق
الما قدام المعتقلين لانه ظن ان مدة حبسه تطول الى يوم وفاته . وفى اليوم الذى فرغ
١٣٤ (ظ) البنا من بيت الما فيه افرج الله عنه . وذاك انه كان لاحمد ابن طولون* كاتبين اخوين
احدهما يسمى بسوس والاخر ابرالم ولدى موسى ، وكان يحبهما وكانا قد اكثرا الطلبة
اليه ان يضمنه لهما وياخذاه من الحبس الى منزلهما فلم يفعل . وكان احمد ابن الماردانى[٢]
وزير ابن طولون له كاتب يسمى يونس ، فسال هذا الكاتب صاحبه الوزير ان يسال
الامير فى البطرك ، ثم مضى الى ام احمد ابن طولون وكانت امراة ورعة فى دينها عارفة
به ، وقال لها قد علمتى طول حبس البطرك ، وقد مات جماعة من الاساقفة باقليم مصر
ولم يقام عوضهم ، والحاجة داعية الى اقامة عوضهم . فقالت له الم تعلم ان يوحنا وابرهيم
ابنا موسى وهما كاتبيه وخاصته قد اجتهدا ان ينقلاه من حبسه الى منزلهما فما قدرا ،
فكيف يسمع منك انت . فقال لها انا افعل ما قد جعله الله فى قلبى والامر لله جلت
قدرته . فشجعته على ذلك ، فمضى واخذ معه ولدا له يسما مقاره ، وقاما فى الغلس
الى دار احمد ابن على المادرانى ، وكان له عاده اذا خرج بالغداة لا يجاوب احدا ولا
يسمع منه كلاما حتى يمضى الى الجامع ويركع فيه خمس ركعات ثم يعود الى داره
وموضع جلوسه ، فلما عاد من الجامع والشمعة بين يديه وجد يوحنا وولده جالسين
على باب داره حتى أنهما فرشا اغشية سروجهما وجلسا عليهما ، فلما اذن لهما فى الدخول
معه سالهما عن سبب بكورهما بخلاف العادة ، فسقعا[٣] بين يديه وقالا يا سيدنا الوزير
ننهى اليك ان ليس لنا صلاة فى كنايسنا ولا من يحكم فى أمورنا ، وقد طال حبس

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[١] وباقلا] ا ١٣٢ (ج) : وبقلا [٢] الماردانى وردت فيا بعد المادرانى وربما كان صوابها المادرانى [٣] فسقعا] ا ١٣٢ (ج) فسكعا

بطركنا ونحن نسالك مساعدتنا نحن وجميع شعب النصارى ، وتسال الامير فيه ، فقال لهما اما تعلما موضع ابنى موسى عنده ومكانهما منه ، وقد سالاه دفعات كثير فلم يجيب سوالهم ، غير انى اصرف اهتمامى فى ذلك . وحلف لهما ، ثم مضى الى الامير كعادته ، وانهى اليه امور دولته ، وذكر له حال البطرك . فقال له الامير انا اقتله فانه تجالد على . قال له ما فى قتله فايده ، لكن نجتهد فى ان نحصل منه شيا لبيت المال اصوب من قتله . فقال له لعله انفذ يسلك[1] فى هذا الامر . فحلف له وقال انه من يوم اعتقاله ما قرات منه رقعة ، ولا خاطبنى فيه احد الى هذه الغاية التى جانى يوحنا الكاتب وولده وبكيا ، فحلفت لهما اننى اخاطبك بسببه . وامر باحضار يوحنا الكاتب وولده ، فلما حضرا كتب لهما رقعة الى متولى الاعتقال بتسليم البطرك لهما يمضيا به الى حيث يريدا ، ويقررا امره على ما يستقر . فحينيذ اخرج من الحبس الى دار الوزير ، ولم يدخل بيت الما الذى بنى له فى الحبس بالجملة . وكان قد انفق عليه ثلثمايه دينار ، لانه ساعة كماله فرج الله عنه وخرج من الحبس ، وصار فى موضع مفروش مزين كما يجب بجوار الوزير . واستاذن يوحنا الوزير فى ان يحمل اليه ما يوكل كل يوم ، فقال الوزير من دارى يحمل اليه ، فان اردت انت تحمل اليه شى اخر فالامر اليك . فكان يحمل اليه فى كل يوم من الطعام والشراب شيا كثير . ثم استقر حاله بعد سوالات كثير وخطوب[2] على عشرين الف دينار ، منها عشرة الف الى شهر ، والبقية وهى النصف الى اربعة شهور . فطابت نفس ابن طولون بذلك ، وكان متوجه الى الشام ، فامر ان يكتب على يوحنا وولده مقاره بما استقر ، ويشهد عليهما ان المال فى جهتهما ، ففعلا ذلك . وحينيذ تسلما البطرك واجتهدا ان يمضيا به الى منزلهما ، فلم يفعل بل مضى الى كنيسة الست السيدة بقصر الشمع* ، بزقاق ابو حصين التى صارت الان للملكية ، واقام بها عشرين يوما والاراخنه يحضروا عنده ويتحدثوا معه ، ويا كلوا ١٣٥ (ج)

(١) يسلك كذا اقرأ يسالك (٢) وخطوب] كذا والمقصود بذلك مخاطبات

ويشربوا عنده ، ويتباركوا منه . وكان لكل واحد منهم يحمل اليه فيه ما يحتاج اليه ، فلما قرب فراغ الشهر ولم يحصل له شيا من العشرة الف دينار ، ولا كان مع البطرك شيا بالجملة ، قلقوا لذلك واحصوا الكراسى الخالية من الاساقفة فوجدوها عشرة فاقاموا لها عشرة اساقفة ، فقدموهم اليه بعد ان قرروا عليهم مالا يقوموا به فى مدة عشرة ايام ، ورسمهم اساقفة . واحضر يوحنا وولده الفى دينار ، ودفع لهم الوزير الف دينار من ماله قرضة ، ومضوا الى كتّاب مسلمين اقترضوا منهم سبعة الف دينار ، فحملوا العشرة الف الى الامير عند انقضا الشهر ، وحلفوا له ان ليس للبطرك فيها دينار ولا درهم ، ولا وجدوا له شيا ، وان جميعها قرضا عليه . فاخذ المال ودفع لهم الخط وخزقوه وكتب يوحنا وولده غيره بالباقى وهو عشرة الف دينار اخرى وكتبوا فيه تلميذه انبا بخوم اسقف طحا وتلميذ اخر حتى صاروا اربعة ضمنوا المال الى اربعة شهور . فلما عاد الى البطرك حسه وسكن روعه ، اجتمع اليه السنودس وتشاوروا فى حال المال المقترض والذى بقى للامير ، فاستقر رايهم على ان ينفذوا الى كراسيهم ، وياخذوا من كل انسان قيراط ذهب ، ونقضوا بفعلهم هذا قانون الابا الحواريون . ومعلمى البيعة القديسين القايلين ان لا يوخذ عن موهبة الله وهى الكهنوت لا ذهب ولا فضة اعنى الشرطونية ، فاخذوا من العشرة اساقفة الذى صيروهم على الكراسى ما استقر عليهم . ثم مضى الاب البطرك الى وادى هبيب ، فباع الرمارم التى هى موضع وقوف الرهبان فى البيعة للصلاة ، واخذ من كل راهب عن موضع وقوفه دينار واحد . ثم مضى الى الاسكندرية ، وسال الكهنة ان يمكنوه ان ياخذ ما فى الكنايس يبيعه ويحمل ثمنه للسلطان ، فلم يطيعوه وجرى بينهم خطوب كثير الى ان تقرر معهم ان يبيع رباع الكنايس ويحمل ثمنها ، واشرطوا عليه ان يعطيهم فى كل سنة الف دينار ، ويكون هذا رسما عليه مستقر فى كل سنة ، وعلى من يجلس بعده على كرسى مرقص الانجيلى . واخذوا خطه بذلك وخطوط اساقفته . حينيذا باعوا رباع الكنايس بالاسكندرية ، وسلموا اليه ثمنها ، فاجتمع له من هذا كله مع صدقات حملت اليه عشرة الف دينار ، بمقدار ما اقترضه ،

وبقى عليه عشرة الف دينار للامير لا يعرف لها وجه . وصار هذا البطرك القديس اذا
كتب كتاب عن نفسه لا يقول من ميخاييل بل من خايا وتفسيره الاخير اى انه
اخر من ولدته امه التى هى الكنيسه ، اذ صار حسنها الى كابة مما جرى من اخذ
المال من الاساقفة على الشرطونية . وفى تلك الايام جرى بين الروم والمسلمين غزاه
فسبوا المسلمين الروم من بلادهم ، وجابوا الى مصر منهم شى كثير جداً ، وكذلك الروم
استاسروا من المسلمين خلق كثير . فكتب الملكان لاون والاكسندرس[1] الى احمد ابن
طولون كتبا يلتمسا الصلح ، وان يخلى كل واحد منهما ما حصل فى يده من الماسورين
نفس بنفس . فكتب ابن طولون الى الملكين يشتمهما ويهددهما مثل انسان ضعيف
هارب وهو يشتم الذى يطرده . فكتبا اليه كتابا هذه نسخته من لاون والاكسندرس[1]
الملكان الضابطان من قبل السيد يسوع المسيح على بلاد الروم* يكاتبا احمد ابن طولون. ١٣٥ (ظ)
«السلام عليك بمقدار استحقاقك . وصلت الينا كتبك جوابا عما كتبنا به عن
الماسورين . فوجدنا فيها كلام ينقض بعضه بعض . اول ذلك تدعوا لنا مثل صديق ،
ثم بعد ذلك تخوفنا مثل عدو ، وخايف فلم يتبين لنا منك ما نعتمد عليه ليكن جوابنا
لك بحسبه ، بل شتمت مذهبنا وهذا ما لايجب لك ان تكتب به بما لا تعرف تاويله ،
ولا يجوز ان تشتم مذهبنا مالم يظهر فيه عيبا . وقد تاملنا ما وصل الينا من غيرك منذ
ظهور دينكم والى الان فما وجدنا فيها شيا مثلما واجهتنا به من الشتم للذهب . فعلمنا
ان متقدميكم اجل منكم وانت لم تلحقهم فى فن من الفنون . وجدفت على اعتقادنا
فى ابن الله ، وزعمت انك لا تعرف ولدا الا من نطفة . وهذا بعيد من المسلك الجيد .
لكن العقل يشهد لنا ان الهنا دايم لم يزل حيا ناطقا ، فسميت كلمته ابنا وحياته روح
قدس ، ونحن وانتم معا على ان الله خلق الكل بغير اداة عمل ، بل بقوله كن فكان .
وبقية الكتاب فيه كلام ركيك لم يكتب بمثله احد ممن تقدمك» فاما الاب انبا خايال

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[1] والاكسندرس] ١٣٣١ (ج) : والاسكندرس

فانه اقام تحت ضيق صدر بسبب العشرة الف دينار الباقية عليه . ثم انه استخار الله تعالى وانحدر الى مدينة تنيس لياخذ منها شيا من صدقات النصارى المحبين لله ، ثم يطوف فى تلك البلاد ليحصل شيا آخر منها ، فلما اقام فى تنيس يوم واحد حضروا جماعة ليتباركوا منه ويسالوا عن اخبــاره وما انتهت اليه حاله ، واذا راهب مستور الوجه نحيف الجسم زرى المنظر عليه تراج خلق دخل الى البطرك وسط الجمع واخذ بركته ، فلم يقول له احد اجلس فجلس الى جانب التلاميذ وقال لاحدهم لماذا ابونا البطرك قلق بسبب ما هو مطلوب به وما يتوقعه من المطالبة ، امضى اليه ويقول[1] له بعد اربعين يوم يمزق الرب عنه الخط ولا يطلب منه مال بل يترك له . فتقدم التلميذ واعلم البطرك بذلك فامر التلميــذ باحضاره اليه فلم يجدوه . وفتشوا عليه مدينة تنيس فما عرفوا له خبر حتى كان الارض بلعته او السما اخفته ، فانفذوا الى دمياط والى المواضع القريبة منهم يطلبوه ، فلم يجدوه . ومن بعد ثلثة ايام خرج احمد ابن طولون من مصر ساير الى دمشق لاجل ما وصل اليه من الاخبار التى اقلقته ، فانفق فى العسكر ثلثماية الف دينار ، واقام تسعة وعشرين يوما ساير ولم يستريح فى مكان ، وكانت هذه عقوبة سماوية حلت به من عند الله لاجل ظلمــه ، وفى تمام الاربعين يوم التى اخبر بها الراهب مات احمد ابن طولون بعد عودته موت سو ، وجلس ابنه خمارويه موضعه . فعند ذلك اخرج احمد ابن على المادرانى[2] الوزير الخط بالضمان وسلمه ليوحنا المليجى كاتبه ، وانفذ احضر الاب البطرك من تنيس ، فلما وصل نزل فى بيعة السيدة بقصر الشمع حيث كان اولا ، واحضر الاراخنة عنده ، واحضروا الخط فخزقه بيده ، وعاد الى قلايته يمجد الله حزينا على ما انحل من قانون البيعة وعلى ما ياتى بعده على كرسيه من حال الشرطونية وما يجرى بينه وبين الاسكندرانيين .

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[1] ويقول] ا : ١٣٣ (ظ) وقول ، ويستقيم بها الكلام [2] الماذرائى انظر ص ٧٢ حاشية رقم ٢

ثم اقام بطركا سبعة وعشرين سنة ، وتنيح فى الحادى والعشرين من امشير فى ايام خمارويه ابن احمد ابن طولون .

وكان خمارويه[1] المذكور بنا جامع خارجا عن مصر وهو الجامع المعروف به الى الان ، ثم ان خمارويه سمع بخبر وادى هبيب ، فسار اليه ودخل الى بيعة القديس ابو مقار ونظر جسده المقدس وسال عنه* ، فقيل له هذا جسد صاحب هذه البيعة . فامر بحله من كفنه ، فمسك شعر لحيته ، ففتح عينيه فى وجهه ، فوقع على ظهره ، واقام ساعة مغشياً عليه لا ينطق ، فحملوه الى خيمته ، واخذوا من زيت قنديل ابو مقار فمسحوا به جبينه ، ثم ظهر له اية اخرى فى هذه البيعة ، وهو انه جاز بباب الاسكنا من بحريه بجانب القوصرة ، فابصر صورة الشهيد وهى تنظر الى الغرب ، وقالوا انها صورة القديس تادرس . وكان فى يد خمارويه حزمة ريحان فرما بها الى الصورة ، وقال خذها يا فارس يا شجاع ، فخرجت يد من الصورة واخذت الحزمة الريحان ، واقامت الحزمة الريحان فى يده حتى ابصرها كل احد ، فخاف خمارويه ابن احمد ابن طولون جدا وبهت من هذه العجايب ، ثم امر ان تعمل علامة فى تلك الصورة لتكن ظاهرة الى كل جيل ، فصوروا فى يده صليب اخر ، وذلك الصليب فى يد تلك الصورة الى الان . ومن ذلك اليوم صار يراعى النصارى لاسيما الاساقفة والرهبان . ١٣٦ (ج)

وكان انبا بخوم اسقف طحا قد كتب اسمه فى الضمان عن الاب البطريرك له اخوين اساقفة ايضا ، وكان له عوامل وغلمان نحو من ثلثمايه ، وكانوا فى كرسيه يحفظوا البلاد ، وقد تعلم بعضهم رمى النشاب لان البربر كانوا يغزوهم من الغرب ، ولاجل ذلك كان الامير يحبه وعول عليه فى تفقد تلك البلاد لخوفه من ملك الغرب الذى هو من جنس محمد ويسمى الفاطمى . وكان هذا الاسقف قد اقام معادى بجانب الغرب يوصلوا

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[1] على الهامش « وكان خمار[ويه] . . . . » والباقى مقطوع من التجليد والاسم مذكور فى النص كاملا فى ا ١٣٣ (ظ)

اليه الاخبار فى كل وقت . فلما تنيح انبا خايال اقاموا زمانا لم يرسموا بطركا ، فرسموا الملكيه بطركا لهم وبجحوا على الارتدكسيين وتكبروا كثير فلما اتصل الخبر بابا بخوم الاسقف صعب عليه هذا الامر ، فنهض للوقت واخذ من بلاده هدايا كثير وفواكه كثير غريبه فى غير وقتها وحملها الى الامير ففرح به وساله عن اخبار الغرب ، فقال ليس الا الخير والسلامة بسعادتك . واقام عنده ايام وعاد بعد ان اوصاه بان لا يخفى عنه شيا مما يتصل به من اخبار الغرب . ثم غاب خمسة ايام وعاد ، فلما راه خاف وظن انه وقد وصل اليه خبر ، فقال له الاسقف لا تخاف يا مولاى الامير فليس الا الخير ، وانما انا لا يجوز لى ان اخفى عنك شى مما يكون فيه ربح لهذه المملكة ، وذلك بانى فارقت حضرتك فاتصل بى ان الملكية المخالفين لنا الذين هم من الروم قد اقاموا لهم بطركا ، نخفت ان يكون عينا لملك الروم هاهنا ، فياتى فى المراكب الى الاسكندرية ، ولهذا رايت ان اعلمك ذلك ، فكتب قاطاتيكا الى والى الاسكندرية بان يسمع منه ما يامره به . فلما اخذ الامر انحدر الى الاسكندرية وامر ان يقبض على بطرك الملكية الغير بطرك ، وان يقطع اصبعيه التى يصلب بهما من يده اليمنى ، ووجد عنده ستة اساقفة من ملته المخالفة ، نخرق عليهم ثيابهم مع بطركهم ، ثم جمع سنودس من الاساقفة الارتدكسيين[1] ومضوا الى وادى هبيب بمعونة الله جل اسمه وامر سماوى .

الاب غبريال البطرك وهو من العدد السابع والخمسون

واوسموا غبريال بطركا ، وكان شابا من اهل الله ، ودخل الى البريه وترهب بدير ابو مقار فى منشوبيه هناك تعرف بضور تاوس[2] ، الذى هو ابوكا اخو يوحنا فى الرهبنة . وكانت طريقته حسنة فى المنشوبيه ، وكان كلمن فيها * ، حميد الطريقة ، وكان ١٣٦ (ظ)

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[1] سنودس من الاساقفة الارتدكسيين] ﻫ ١٤٣ (ج) : سينودس من اساقفة الاسكندرية .

[2] بضورتاوس] فيما بعد : دورتاوس

فى هذه المنشوبيه قس شيخ كبير يسما مكسيموس يقول ان العادة جارية فى هذه المنشوبيه ان لا يتقدم احد منهم يقول الليلويا الا من حفظ المزامير كلها ظاهر من غير كتاب ، وكان ذلك سببا لمعرفة الرهبان جميع المزامير ظاهرا . وكان لتقدمته نبوة من شيخ كبير يسمى دروتاوس[1] ، وذلك ان الاخوة حضروا عنده دفعة لياخذوا بركته ، وحضر هذا غبريال معهم فجلسوا يسمعوا كلامه كلهم الا غبريال ، فانه اخذ بركته وخرج لا نه كان يحب التفرد ولا يخالط احد ، فمد الشيخ يده ومسك يد غبريال وجذبه اليه وهو متبسم تبسم روحانى ، وقال له تهرب منى ايها الاخ ولا تجلس عندى لمحبتك الوحدة ، اقول لك يا ولدى انك لا بد تجلس فى وسط جمع كبير رجال ونسا معا . فلما مسكوه غصبا ليجعلوه بطركا ذكر كلام هذا الشيخ القديس . ولما مضى الى الاسكندرية ليكرزوه قال له اهل الاسكندرية كما جرى عادتهم اكتب لنا خطك بالامانة ، فقال لهم كلمة عجيبة ، اتونا بنجار يعمل لهولاى القوم امانة جديدة ، ما الحاجة الى الخط ، نحن مقيمين على الامانة المستقيمة التى رسمها الابا الثلثماية وثمنية عشر بمدينة نيقيه ، لا نزيد عليها ولا ننقص منها . فلما كرزوه طالبوه اهل الاسكندرية بالالف دينار الذى قرر انبا خايال المتنيح عوضا مما اخذه من رباع الكنيسة ، فلم تصل قدرته الى شى ، فاقتضى الحال ان مشى فى الكرسى ، وحل القوانين ، وصار كلام الله متجر يباع بالدنانير لمن يطلب ان يقسم كاهنا واستقرت الدياريه فى جميع كراسى مصر على كل نسمة من الرجال والنسا قيراط ذهب فى السنة وصار الاساقفة ياخذوا ذلك فيقتاتوا به ومنه يدفعوا الدياريه للبطرك فى كل سنة ، وهى جملة دنانير على كل واحد على قدر كرسيه ، فيدفع منه لاهل الاسكندرية المستقر لهم ، ويصرف الباقى فى صدقات رعيته .

وقيل عن هذا القديس انبا غبريال البطرك انه اقام مدة بطركيته كلها فى وادى هبيب لم يفارقه ولم يسكن الريف ولا مصر ولا الاسكندرية . وكان اذا خرج من

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[1] دروتاوس] ا : ضورتاوس انظر عاليه

هناك فى امرمهم يكون مثل الغريب الى ان يرجع الى الوادى المذكور . وذكر عنه ايضا ان شهوة الخطية كانت تعذبه ، وانه لاجل ذلك كان يصوم مدة لا يفطر ، فلم يجد لذلك راحة لانه كان فى بدايته وشبابه قد اذل نفسه واتعبها ، فلما صار بطركا ووجد الراحة هاج عليه هذا الامر ، فلما اتعب نفسه بالصوم ولم يجد راحة شكا لذلك للشيوخ[1] الرهبان ، فاشاروا عليه وقالوا له ان هذه النفس لا يذلها الا التواضع والهوان . فعند ذلك عمل مجرفة حديد لنفسه ، وصار يقوم فى الليل بعد الصلاة ويلبس تراج بلاكم ، يطوف على قلالى الرهبان من برا ، وينظف بيوت ماهم من غير ما يعلم به احد ، فاقام كذلك سنين الى ان زال عنه ذلك ، واقام احد عشر سنه بطركا ، وتنيح فى الحادى عشر من امشير ودفن فى دير ابو مقار بوادى هبيب .

قسما البطرك وهو من العدد الثامن والخمسون

وقسم بعده قسما بطركا وظهر فى ايامه امر عظيم عجيب ، وذاك انه رسم مطرانا من الرهبان على بلاد الحبشة وهى كورة واسعة التى هى مملكة سابا وهى التى كانت ملكة التيمن جاءت منها الى سليمن ابن داوود الملك* واذا اراد ملكها يطوفها يقيم سنة ١٣٧ (ج) كاملة يطوف سوى ايام الاحاد الى ان يعود الى مكانه . وهى كورة مجاورة للهند وما يليه ، وهى داخلة فى كرسى مارى مرقص الانجيلى الى يومنا هذا . فلما انفذ المطران المذكور الى هناك ، وكان اسمه بطرس ، فقبله ملكها المبارك بابتهاج . فلما قربت وفاة ملكها احضر المطران وسلم اليه تاج المملكة وولديه وقال له انت خليفة الملك المسيح الاله العظيم الذى كل ممالك العالم بامره وهوذا قد سلمت اليك مملكتى وولدى وجعلتهم فى يديك لتدبرهم بارادة الرب ، ومن رايته منهم مستحقا ودیعا خيرا اجعل

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[1] للشيوخ] : ا ١٣٤ (ظ) الشيخ فى النص ومصححه بالهامش « للشيوخ » .

عليه تاج المملكة ، ثم تنيح الملك ، وكان المطران رجلا عاقل ، فراى الولد الصغير اوفا من الكبير ، فجعل عليه التاج واجلسه ملكا واذا براهب من دير انبا اندونه يدور البلاد ويجوب الارض ومعه رفيق له يدور معه ، وكان اسمه بقطر ، فمضيا الى بلاد الحبشة وحضرا عند المطران وطلبا منه ان يعطيهما دنانير ويبرهما بشى من ماله ، فلم يدفع لهما شيا . فعلمهما الشيطان ان لبس احدهما ثياب الاساقفة والاخر عمل تلميذه ، وكتبوا كتب مزورة عن البطرك يقولوا فيها « بلغنا ان جا الى عندكم انسان ضال اسمه بطرس وحكى عنا انا انفذناه اليكم مطرانا ، وليس هو صحيح ولا الكتب الذى معه من عندنا ولا نحن رسمناه بل زور عنا ما وصل اليكم على يده . والذى انفذناه صحيحا وهو المطران الواصل اليكم بكتبنا على يديه ، فعند وقوفكم عليها ابعدوا بطرس عنكم ، واجلسوا هذا مينا على الكرسى . وبلغنا ايضا انه اجلس ابن الملك الصغير فى المملكة ورفض الكبير ، وهذا ظلم لان الكبير احق بالملك من الصغير» . ومضيا بالكتب الى ابن الملك الكبير ، وكان منفرد فى موضع وحده وكان قد تبعه يسير من الناس ، فلما وقف على الكتب المزورة فرح جدا وجمع اليه الجيش وعرفهم بالكتب وما فيها ووجد بها السبيل الى محاربة اخيه ، وانظم[1] اليه الجيش فغلبه وقبض عليه ونفاه ، ونفا المطران ايضا ، واجلس ذلك الراهب مينا عوضه . ومن بعد ايام يسيرة وقع الخلف بين هذين الراهبين المزورين ، فنهب بقطر قلاية المطرنة واخذ جميع ما فيها ، وانهزم هاربا الى ديار .... [2] واسلم واتلف جميع ما وصل صحبته فيما لا يرضى الله ، فلما بلغ البطرك خبر مينا وما فعله حتى نفا المطران وجلس عوضه حزن جدا وكتب كتبا احرمه وقطعه ، فلما سمع الملك ذلك اخذ مينا الراهب المزور فقتله ، ولم يعد البطرك يقسم لهم مطرانا بقية ايام بطركيته ، ولا البطرك الذى جلس بعده الى تمام خمسة بطاركة وهو فيلاتاوس .

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(١) كذا اقرأ : والضم

(٢) على هامش م «الى ...» وباقيه مقطوع من التجليد وفى ا ١٣٥ (ج) : «الى ديار» بعدها بياض

والسيرة توضح لنا ذلك عند ما نحتاج الى معرفته اذا بلغنا اليه بمعونة الله لانه لا يجوز لنا ان نذكر بقية هذا الخبر قبل ان نصل اليه ، ثم ان الملك انفذ الى بطرس المطران ليعيده الى كرسيه ، فوجده قد توفى فى النفى وبقى تلميذه فطلب ان يسير الى مصر فلم يمكنه الملك وقال له تجلس عوضا من معلمك . فسال الملك ان يمكنه من السير الى مصر ليرسمه البطرك مطرانا ويعود ، فلم يفعل بل لبسه الثياب بغير اختياره ، واجلسه بغير قسمة ، ومكث الى زمان الاب فيلاتاوس البطرك حتى شاخ وكبر جدا ، وكان يفعل افعال* الاساقفة . ثم ان الاب قسما تنيح ، وكانت مدته فى البطركية اثنى عشر سنة ، وتنيح فى اليوم الثالث من برمهات صلاته معنا امين . ١٣٧ (ظ)

انبا مقاره البطرك وهو من العدد التاسع والخمسون

وقسم عوضه مقاره الراهب من دير ابو مقار ، من ضيعة بالريف تسمى شبرا قريب من اسكندرية ، فلما كرز فى الاسكندرية ودير ابو مقار ومصر على العادة . فلما نجز شغله من مصر ، انحدر الى الاسكندرية لانه لم يكن احد من البطاركة مقيم بالاسكندرية بعد انبا خايال البطرك الذى اباع رباع الكنايس . وعند انحداره عول على العبور على والدته ليسلم عليها ويسرها بما صار اليه من الموهبة العالية ، وكانت قد كبرت جدا ، فلما وصل إلى الضيعة ومعه شعب كبير من الاساقفة وغيرهم ليودعوه ، قيل لوالدته وهى جالسة تغزل فى منزلها ، هوذا ابنك مقاره قد صار بطركا ووصل الى ها هنا لكى يفتقدك ، فلم تجاوب الذى قال لها ذلك بكلمة واحدة ، ولا تحركت من موضعها ، ولا خرجت للقايه ، بل كانت تلك العجوز العارفة جالسة فى شغلها تبكى بكا عظيما . فلما دخل من باب منزلها لم تقم للقايه ، بل بقيت جالسة تبكى . وكان مسروراً بما اعطيه من الموهبة ، فلما راها على هذه القضية احتشم جدا من الذين كانوا معه ، لانها اهانته قدامهم ، اذ لم تتلقاه وتفرح به ، بل كانت باكية وهو قايم ، فقال

لها يا كبيرة لعلك لم تعرفينى انا ولدك مقاره قد اعطانى الرب هذا المجد العظيم فما تفرحى انتى الان معى وانا فى هذا اللباس الذى هو لباس ومجد الملوك . فاجابته بفهم وقالت له اما انا فعارفة بك يا ولدى ، واما انت فما تعرف ما صرت اليه ، وانت مسرور بما نلته وانا حزينة عليك ، فليت لو اتونى بك محمولا على نعش ميتا ولا تدخل علي[1] بهذا المجد الفارغ ، لا تنظر يا ولدى الى ما نلته وتفرح بل ابكى واحزن لان هذا الشعب كله الذى يمجدك انت مطلوب بخطاياهم . فلم يفهم ما قالته له بالجملة من الحشمة والخجل والحيا من الناس الذين معه ، وخرج من عندها وهو حزين باكى لاهانتها له وكلامها له بحضرة شعبه ، فمكث على الكرسى عشرين سنة وتنيح فى الرابع والعشرين من برمهات .

تاوفانيس البطرك وهو من العدد الستين[2]

واقسموا عوضه تاوفانيوس ، وكان من اهل الاسكندرية وقد كبر ، وحدث فيه ضيق صدر لكبر سنه وشيخوخته . وكان يدفع للاسكندرانيين الالف دينار المستقرة لهم فى كل سنة ، فضاق به فى بعض السنين وسالهم ان يسامحوه منها بشى ، فلم يفعلوا وتخاصموا معه وضيقوا عليه ، وقالوا له ما نخلى لك من الالف دينار درهم واحد . ثم قالوا له انما انت اجل منا بهذه الثياب والاسكيم ، ونحن البسناك اياها وهى لنا ، فاما ان توفينا ما هو مستقر لنا عليك وعلى من كان قبلك والا فاعطينا ثيابنا . فغلب عليه الضجر . فنزع الثياب والاسكيم من عليه ورماهم فى وجوههم ، وقال لهم ان كانوا لكم تخذوهم فما لى بهم حاجة . فلما نزعهم عنه ورماهم لهم نزل عليه روح نجس فخبطه حتى صار مكبل بالحديد بقيـة ايام حياته . ثم اخفوه حتى لا يراه احد ، فاجتمع

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(١) علي] ا ١٣٥ (ظ) : لى

(٢) على هامش م بالمداد الأحمر وعلى هامش ا ١٣٥ (ظ) بالمداد الاسود «هذا الذى اهملته نعمة الله فتجنن»

الاساقفة وحملوه الى مصر ليطبوه ، فحملوه فى مركب واقلعوا به ، ولم تدعهم الحشمة ان
١٣٨ (ج) يجعلوه فوق سطح المركب* بل جعلوه فى الخن ، فصرخ وجـدف وقال ما يقولوه
المخالفين ، فقيل ان واحد من تلاميذ الاساقفة الذين معه نزل فى الليل الى الخن وبل
مخدة وجعلها على وجهه وهو نايم ، وجلس عليها حتى مات . وقيل انه سقى شيا حتى
مات خوفا من الفضيحة . وكانت مدة بطركيته اربع سنين وستة اشهر .

مينا البطرك وهو من العدد الحادى والستون[١]

وقسم عوضه انسان من صدلا[٢] ولدا لراهب قديس من دير ابو مقار بوادى
هبيب من قلاية تعرف بدربنا ، وكان هذا الرجل مختار . وسبب رهبانيته ان ابواه
الزماه بالزيجة فى صبايه بغير اختياره وكان طايعا لهما جدا ، وكملوا كلمـا يحتاج اليه
العرس ، وهو يرى ذلك كانه خيال او منام ، فلما دخلوا به حجلته مع زوجته واخلوه
معها ، وكانت من اهله وقبيلته ، جلس وقال لها يا اختى ماذا نربح فى هذا العالم ،
نقول الان قد اجتمعنا وكلنا شهوة اجسادنا ورزقنا الاولاد اناث وذكور ، ما الفايده
فى ذلك ، وماذا نربح فيه اليس نموت اخر ذلك والقبر نهايته ولا بد منهما كما هو مكتوب
ان العالم يزول وكل شهواته والذى يفعل الخير يدوم الى الابد . فلما طيب قلب
الامراة بهذا الكلام ومثله من الكتب المقدسة لحفظ طهارة اجسادهم اقام على ذلك ثلثة
ايام حتى قوى امانتها ، ثم قال لها يا اختى قد طاب قلبنا بعضنا مع بعض ، فاجلسى
انتى الان فى بيتك ، وامضي انا الى وادى هبيب اترهب ، بل احفظى هذا السر ولا

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[١] بالمداد الاحمر على هامش كل من م ومن ا ١٣٦ (ج) «جلس هذا الاب على كرسى البطركية فى ولاية كافور الاخشيد على مصر فى مملكة خليفة بغداد (ا ببغداد) فى سنة ستمايه ثلثة وسبعين (م : وتسعين) للشهدا وبعد ثلثة سنين من جلوسه وصل جوهر من الغرب وفتح مصر وسلمها للمعز وبنا القاهرة [فى سنة]

[٢] صدلا] ا ١٣٦ (ج) : صيدلا ، وربما كان الصواب صندلا

تعلمى به احد ، فقالت له نعم . فحينيذ نهض فى اليوم الرابع غلسا ولم يعلم به احدا ، فمضى الى الوادى المذكور وسكن فى القلاية المذكورة التى هى دربنا عند شيخ قديس وهو اب القلاية ، فعلمه مخافة الله ، ولما عرفه السر البسه ثياب الرهبنة ، واخفا امره ثلث سنين لم يعلم به احد ممن يعرفه فلما كان ثانى يوم من مسيره من بيته سالوا عنه اهله ليخرج اليهم كعادته فلم يجدوه ، فسالوا عنه زوجته فقالت لهم خرج من عندى من وقت كبير من الليل فطلبوه طلبا حثيثا فلم يجدوه ، وصار ذلك العرس حزن وكاابة . فلما انقضت ايام صنعهم الحزن عقيب الفرح والعرس اراد اهل الامراة ان ياخذوها عندهم ليزوجوها لرجلا اخر ، فلم تجيب الى ذلك ولا قبلت رايهم ، وقالت لهم الذى قضى على به الرب انا اقيم فى بيتى هذا حزينة على زوجى الى يوم وفاتى . فلما اقام مينا المذكور ثلثة سنين فى الدير وامره مخفى عن ابيه واهله ، ثم عرفوا بعد ذلك خبره وانه حى وقد ترهب فى دير ابو مقار فاسرعوا اهله ومضوا اليه حتى راوه هناك حى خادما لله تعالى ممجدا له وحفظت الامراة العهد المستقر بينها وبينه ولم تنقضه ، واقام هذا بوادى هبيب زمانا طويلا ثم صار سايحا ، فلما تنيح الاب انبا تاوفانيوس البطرك ، اجتمعوا الاساقفة والاراخنة ليقيموا عوضه ، بلغهم خبر هذا الاب الشيخ القديس اب القلاية وتعبده فى الديارات وان لديه علم ، فمضوا اليه ولا حلفوه ولا كلموه بما لا يريده ولم يزعجوه لاجل قدسه ، بل خاطبوه بسكينة ووقار قايلين قد اتيناك يا ابانا القديس ندعوك الى امر الاهى لتكون لنا اب على الكرسى الرسولى وجميعنا نصنع لك مطانوات لاجل الله* ، لا تردنا خايبين بل تتكلف وتقبل سعينا من جهة الرب وسجد جميعهم ١٣٨ (ظ) له . فلما فعلوا ذلك وراى انه مغلوب معهم ، قال لهم ارفعوا رووسكم ما اخالفكم فلما رفعوا رووسهم وهموا ان يضعوا ايديهم عليه ويقسموه ، قال لهم بامر من الله اسمعوا منى ما اقوله لكم ، هو ذا ترونى شيخ كبير ، وما بقى فيّ حركة لهذا الامر لانه امر عظيم ، وانتم عارفين قوانين البيعة وما يجب فيها ، وانه ينبغى ان يكون من يقدم الى هذه الرتبة وسط السن لا شيخا فانى ولا شاب ليلا تعذبه شهوة الجسد ولا زايد فى

الكبر ليلا يثقل عليه جسده ولا يقدر على فعل ما يلزمه . فقالوا له ما نتركك بالجملة الا ان تعرفنا من يصلح لهذه الرتبه ، فلما علم انهم لا يتركوه الا ان يدلهم على غيره ، فقال لهم ولدى مينا يصلح لهذا الامر وانا اشهد له بذلك وبحسن طريقته الالهية وانه عالم وسنه متوسط فصاحوا جميعهم مستحق مستحق مستحق ، وقاموا اليه واخذوه قهراً وقيدوه بالحديد فى رجليه وحملوه الى الاسكندرية فاوسموه فيها بطركا وعادوا معه الاساقفة والشيوخ فاجتاز بضيعته المذكورة ، فمال اليها ليسلم على اهله ، فلما اتصل بهم خبره خرجوا للقايه بالمجامر والصلبان ، وطلعوا به المنزل يستريح فلما جلس والجمع معه حضر انسان شرير من اهل الضيعة فقال لاحد الاساقفة اليس انتم تقولون انه لا يجوز لمن تزوج ان يصير بطركا ، قال له نعم ، فقال هذا قد تزوج وزوجته باقية الى الان عندنا فى الضيعة . فلما سمع ذلك الاسقف هذا القول حزن واخبر بقية الاساقفة الذين معه ، وقال لهم يا اخوه اعلموا اننا قد اصابتنا مصيبة عظيمة وفضيحة وصرنا عارا عند كل احد وعرفهم الخبر فسكتوا وصاروا سكارى بغير خمر من الحزن والكابة . فلما راهم مينا البطرك يتشاوروا علم انهم لاجله ، فقال لهم يا اخوه ما بالكم تتشاوروا ، فقالوا له قد عرفونا انك متزوج وقد فعلنا معك ما لا يجوز وما هو مخالف القانون فاصدقنا عن نفسك . فقال لهم الامر صحيح لكن احضروا الامراة ، فاحضروها ، فقال لها البطرك عرفيهم السر الذى بينى وبينك ، فاخبرتهم بذلك ، فلما سمعوا قولها مجدوا الله عند معرفتهم بصحة الخبر من الامراة ومن جميع اهلها . وكانت تلك السنة التى جعل فيها هذا الاب مينا بطركا سنة ستمايه ثلثة وسبعون للشهدا ، وكانت مصر يوميذا لخليفة بغداد وكان الوالى عليها من قبله انسان يعرف بالاخشيد ، اقام ثلثة سنين قبل ان يجعل هذا الاب بطركا ، ثم سار الى فلسطين ومات هناك ، وخلف ولدين احدهما ابو القسم والاخر ابو الحسن ، فتوليا الولاية عوض ابيهما ، وثار عليهما ثاير من الغرب اسمه حنابنا ، فهربا من قدامه الى فلسطين ، وملك هو مصر فلما علموا ان عساكره بمصر فقط عادوا الى قتاله فهزموه ، وكانا صبيين وكان معهما استاذ لابيهما ،

وكان اسمه كافور ، وكان جنسه نوبى سبوه من بلاد النوبه وسلمه مولاه من صغره
لمن علمه الخط والادب وكلما يحتاج اليه ، فلما كبر وراه ناجب عارف سلم اليه مملكته
وولديه ، وهذا كان مثل يوسف بمصر . فلما انقضا للولدين سبع سنين ماتا جميعا ،
وتولا الاستاذ كافور بعدهما ، ثم مات فاخذوه مقدمى الدولة وصبروه واجلسوه على
كرسى عال فى قصره ولبسوه ثوب باكمام طوال* جدا حتى تصل الى باب المجلس الذى هو ١٣٩ (ج)
فيه . واقاموا خدام بين يديه ، وكلمن جا يسلم عليه يمنعوه من الدخول اليه ، ويقولوا
سيدنا يامر ان تقبل كمه وتسلم عليه من برا لانه ضعيف لا يحتمل احد يدخل
اليه ، وكانوا جعلوا خلف الكرسى الذى اجلس[وه عليه][1] من اذا سلم عليه الناس
حرك راسه وكمه كانه يرد عليهم . ولم يعلم احد من اهل قصره بذلك الا الاستاذين
الخواص وسراريه وابو اليمن قزمان ابن مينا ، فاقام هكذى ثلثة سنين ووزيره يحيى
الخراج ويدبر الامور الى ان عرفوا قوم الخبر ، فكتبوا الى ملك الغرب واسمه معد
ابو تميم المعز لدين الله ، فلما عرف ذلك انفذ قايد من قواده اسمه جوهر ، وكان شجاع
مقاتل ومعه عسكر كبير ، فلما سمع الاخشيديه بخبره ، خرجوا لقتاله ، ومنعوا المراكب
ان تعدى . وكانت تلك السنة قليلة الما ، فعرف قوم موضع المخاضة قبالة شطنوف ،
فلما علم مقدم الاخشيدية وهو الاستاذ وكان اسمه فاتك وكان شجاع مقاتل وعسكره
رجال مقاتلة ولم يكن فيهم من يعرف يرمى بالنشاب الا يسيرا منهم فاما الواصلين
من المغرب فكان اكثر عسكرهم رجالة عراة ملتفين باكسية صوف ، وكانوا اذا قاتلوا
يجعلوا اكسيتهم على ايديهم ، ويقاتلوا بالسيوف والنشاب وفضلات حراب لطاف
يزرقوا بها الاخشيدية ، فقتلوهم وكانت مطاردهم خرق مصبوغة عجيبة ملونة على قصب
فضة علامة للغلبة ، فاذا ابصروهم ينشروه يقووا للحرب ، وكانوا الاخشيدية اذا حطوا
المطارد السود الذى معهم قد انهزم عسكرهم ، فلما نظر الاستاذ فاتك تلك المطارد قد

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(١) اجلس[وه عليه] على الهامش مقطوعه وفى ١ ١٣٧ (ج) كامله

حطها حاملوها وهموا بالهرب عدا اليهم بغضب فقتلهم وانهزم هو وعسكره . ولم تزل
المغاربة يتبعوهم ويقتلوهم الى بلبيس ، واسروا من مقدميهم جماعة فكبلهم جوهر بالحديد
وانفذهم الى الغرب الى مولاه المعز لدين الله . وملك جوهر ارض مصر ، وكان وصوله
اليها فى سنة ٦٨٤ للشهدا فاما ابو اليمن قزمان ابن مينا وزير كافور فانه وجد نعمة
قدام جوهر فابقاه على حاله ناظر فى كورة مصر ولما هو مشهور به من الثقة والامانه
التى عرفت منه وشهد له بها ثقات مصر . وبنا جوهر مدينة على القصر ، وسماها القاهرة
المعزية ، وكان من جملة الاخشيدية استاذ امير اسمه تير وكان والى البشمور وهو الذى
بنا المسجد بظاهر القاهرة ، فمنع جميع البشامرة ان يدفعوا جوالى ، وحملهم على ان لا
يطيعوا جوهر ، وقال لهم ساعدونى وانا احمى بلادكم واوفر عليكم الخراج ، فتبعه جمع
كبير فلما بلغ الملك المعز خبره عند وصوله الى مصر انفذ اليه عسكر ، فلما راو البشامرة
العسكر تشاوروا فيما بينهم وقالوا كيف نفسد نحن الملك ولا نامن ما يكون منه ، ثم
انهم تفرقوا كل واحد منهم الى موضعه ، فهرب ذلك البايس تير الى دمياط وتبعه العسكر
فركب مركب وهرب الى فلسطين ، ودخل يافا فقبضوه هناك ، واقام شهر يسقا سيرج
حتى ارتفع جلده عن لحمه ، وسلخ جلده وخرج مثل الزق فملوه تبن ، وصلبوه على
خشبة ، وكان اهل تنيس فى ضيق عظيم فى ذلك الزمان من شباب شجعان كانوا فيها
قد تغلبوا عليها ، ونهبوا مال جماعة من الاغنيا الذين فيها ، وقطعوا على اهلها مال
اخذوه منهم ، وكانوا مجتمعين ياكلوا ويشربوا ، وكان كل واحد منهم يفعل ما يريده
١٣٩ (ظ) حتى انهم اخذوا البنات الابكار من والديهم غصبا* وكذلك النسوة ، وما كان
احد يجسر يخاطبهم ، وكان فى تنيس قوما من النصارى يعرفوا باولاد قشلام ، وانما
سموا بهذا الاسم لسبب فعله ابوهم ، وذلك ان ابوهم كان رجلا حكيما ولما راى ظلم
تلك الشجعان قد كثر وعلا كتب الى الملك المعز يطلب منه معونة ، وقال فى كتابه
ان فى مملكتك مدينة تسمى تنيس فيها الف غلام مسلمين يفعلوا كذا وكذا ، وشرح
له جميع افعالهم ، والان فيجب ان ينفذ الامير احد من عنده ليكون واليها ، ويكون

معه عسكر جيد ، فاذا وصل الينا فانا اساعده فيما يحتاج اليه . فانفذ المعز اليها رجلا كتامى اسمه مشعلة ومعه رجال كثيرة فلما وصل اغلقوا ابواب المدينة فى وجهه تلك المفسدين ، وقاتلوه ثلثة شهور حتى ضجت المدينة من العطش ، لان ماهم من البحيرة التى تحلوا ثلثة شهور سنة النيل العال ، فيملوا منها صهاريجهم ، ثم تملح تسعة شهور فتحمل اليهم المراكب الما الحلو من بحر النيل من مسيرة يوم فلما ضجوا اجتمع قشلام مع رووساهم وكان عددهمماية رجل وقال لهم وهم على الصور الى متى نضيق على هذه المدينة ونبق هكذى . فان اطعتمونى كنت سفير بينكم وبين هذا الامير مشعلة واخذت منه لكل واحد منكم عشرة دنانير وخلعة حسنة ويوليكم هذه المدينة من قبله ، فليس لكم بمقاومة السلطان طاقة ، فاستصوبوا قوله وقالوا له انت تكون الواسطة فى هذا الامر ومهما رسمته لنا ما نخالفك . ثم تفرقوا جماعة اوليك الاحداث ، ومضى كل واحد منهم الى موضعه ، ولم يبق الا الماية المقدمين ، فامرهم قشلام بفتح الباب وخرج منه واغلق الباب وخرج معه شيوخ المسلمين بالناحية الذى كان وافقهم على هذا الراى فمضوا الى مشعلة ، فلما دخلوا عليه اعلمه قشلام بجميع ما قرره وما فعله ، واخذ منه الف دينار وماية خلعة طايلة وكتب خطه انه لا يظلمهم فاطمنوا لذلك وعادوا الى المدينة ، ودفعوا لكل واحد منهم عشرة دنانير وخلعة ، واوقفوهم على الخط الذى كتبه ففرحوا وطابت قلوبهم ، وفتحوا ابواب المدينة ودخلها مشعلة بمجد عظيم ، وعمل لهم سماط عظيم ودعاهم جميعهم وذلك شى كان قرره قشلام معه ان ينصب لهم فقدم لهم طعام كثير وشراب وحلف عليهم براس الملك المعز ان لا يمضى احد منهم الى منزله ثلثة ايام بل تقيموا عندى تاكلوا وتشربوا معى . ومن بعد الثلثة ايام سكروا من الشراب . فاغلق عليهم الباب وامر اجناده يذبحوهم جميعهم فذبحوا وصلبهم على صور المدينة قبل الصبح ، فلما كان بالغداة ابصرهم اهل المدينة وخافوا[1] خوفا عظيما ثم انه امر [بهدم] اكثر السور فهدم وبقى مهدوم

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[1] وخافوا] ساقطة من م وواردة فى ا ١٣٧ (ظ)

الى الان . وفى اول سنة ملكوا هولاى المغاربة ارض مصر تشرقت الارض ولم [تروى]
فبدا الغلا وفى السنة الثانية اوفا النيل وزرعوا الناس وافلح زرعهم ، فلما ندت نزل
عليه فيران كثيره فهلك الزرع . وفى السنة الثالثة لحق الزرع ريح اهلكه . وفى السنة
الرابعه نزل على الزرع جراد عظيم فاكلـه ، ولم يزل الغلا الى تمام سبعة سنين متوالية ،
وكان غلا عظيم فى جميع ارض مصر حتى ان كورة مصر خلت من الناس لكثرة الموت
والجوع الذى كان . وفى السنة السابعة بلغ القمح نصف ويبة وربع ويبة بدينار .
وخربت عدة من كراسى الاساقفة لخلوها من الناس ، ولم يقام لهـا اساقفة بل اضيفت
١٤٠ (ج) الى الكراسى العامرة* المجاورة لها وهى ترنوط اوراط نستروه انحاوا اصطف حريوط
ابوشوا[1] ابورسا[2] دقلهه نقيوس واماكن كثيرة ما يسع الزمان ذكر جميعها . وكان الاب
انبا مينا البطرك فى هذا كله مقيما بالريف ، فلما اشتد الغلا انتقل وسكن فى ضيعة من
اعمال تيدا تعرف بمحلة دانيال حتى ان امراة رييسة من اهل بلقونه غنية خايفة من
الله اسمها دينا اقامت بقية ايام الغلا تقوم بالبطرك وتلاميذه ومن يخصه ، واقام سنة
لم يدخل الى الاسكندرية ولا الى وادى هبيب ليرفع الميرون حينيذ بنا مذبح لطيف
فى محلة دانيال على اسم القديس مارى مرقص وحمل عليه الميرون ، فلما انقضت سنى
الغلا السبعة وانعم الله على الخلق بالرخا وعادوا اهل الغربية الى اماكنهم فلم يجدوا قمح
يزرعوه حتى نقلوا لهم التجار من الشام . ثم توفا الاب البطريرك انبا مينا بعد ان اقام
ثمنية عشر سنة ، وكان فى اخر ايامه رخا عظيم حتى ابيع القمح اثنا عشر اردبا بدينار
وكان يرمى على الناس بامر السلطان .

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[1] ابو شوا] ا ١٣٧ (ظ) : ابشوا . [2] ابو رسا] ا ١٣٧ (ظ) : ابو رشا

السيرة الرابعة والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة
انبا افرهام السريانى وهو من العــدد الثانى والستون
المعروف بابن زرعة[1]

لما تنيح انبا مينا البطرك وبقى الكرسى خال اجتمع اساقفة كورة مصر من الريف والصعيدين وكتّاب مصر وكهنة الاسكندرية ومكثوا عدة ايام فلم يجدوا من يرتضوه للتقدمة وكان بمصر انسان تاجر سريانى اسمه ابرهيم ابن زرعه وكان له صدقات على الارامل والمساكين والمستورين والضعفاء وكان شيخ لحيته نازلة على صدره مثل ابونا ابرهيم الاول ، وكان بينه وبين الملك المعز ورجال دولته جميل عظيم لاجل بضايعه وامتعته التى كانت تتواصل وكان يعاملهم فيها وكان جميع اراخنة مصر يحبوه ويكرموه ، وكان الشعب مجتمعين فى بيعة الشهدين سرجيوس وواخس بمصر بقصر الشمع التى هى القتاليكى والاساقفة والكهنة والاراخنة مجتمعين لاجل العيد ، فدخل ابرهيم ابن زرعه ليصلى فى البيعة فاومى احد الاراخنة الى احد الاساقفة قايلا انتم تطلبوا من يصلح للبطركية وهوذا الذى يستحقها قد بعثه الله لنا . فسمع جماعة من الحاضرين فارضاهم [قو]له ولم يظهروا ذلك ، ثم دعاه احد اصدقاه الاراخنة كانه يريد يخاطبه فى شى فلما تقدم وصار فى صحبتهم صاحوا جميعهم هذا هو الذى اختاره الرب وقبضوه للوقت وقيدوه بالحديد ، فصرخ وبكا وقال ما استحق هــذا الامر فحملوه للوقت وساروا به الى الاسكندرية وقسموه هناك بطركا فابطل الشرطونية التى كانت البطاركة ياخذوها وياخذوا الدنانير

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[1] بالمداد الاحمر على هامش م وفى ا ١٣٨ (ج) كاملة «جلس هــذا الاب على كرسى البطركية فى مملكة المعز وهو اول خلفا [ا خنفا (كذا)] الدولة الفاطمية وفى ايامه كان امر بان النصارى (كذا) وقضية الجبل المشروحه فى هذه السيرة اعظم الله قدره واشاع قدسه وطهره وما صنعه الله له فى جبيع اقطار الدنيا» وفى العبارة نقص وغموض

قرضا عليها وصدق بجميع ما كان له ، وكان له مال عظيم [و]عظم ذكره اكثر ممن تقدمه
وكان المعز يحضره اليه فى كل وقت وياخذ رايه فيما يعن له ويتبارك به ، وساله ان
يسكن بمصر ولما راى جماعة من الاراخنة يتسروا بالسرارى ويولدوا منهم الاولاد
فاحرم [من يفـ]ـعله[1] فاطاعوه كلهم الا ارخن واحد جليل من اصحاب الدواوين
كان عنده سرارى عدة فلم يخرجهم وخالف البطرك ، فضرب له الاب انبا فرهام
١٤٠ (ظ) البطرك عدة مطانوات فلم يطيعه ، وبقى على سو فعله* ، كالافعا التى لا تسمع صوت
الحاوى ولا دوا يصنعه الحكيم ، حينئذ ركب البطرك ومضى الى داره يخاطبه
وقال فى نفسه لعل اذا سعيت اليه يحتشم منى فلما اعلموه ان البطرك جاى اليه اغلق
باب داره ، فلما وصل البطرك الباب وقف ودقه ساعتين فلم يجيبه احد بكلمة ،
فاحرمه ونفض قدميه على العتبة وكانت حجر صوان فانقسمت بين اثنين وظهرت هذه
الاية للناس وخاف كلمن في مصر من البطرك . وبعد ايام يسيرة هلك ذلك الارخن
وكلما له ، وكان وزير الملك المعز رجـل يهودى اسمه بو يعقوب بن كلس وصل
معه من الغرب واسلم على يده ، وكان للوزير صديق يهودى اسمه موسى قد رزق
من المعز حظ وافر لاجل صداقته لوزيره ، فلما راى محبة الملك للبطرك وتقدمته عنده
حسده وعمل عليه مشورة وقال للعز انا اريد تحضر بطرك النصارى اجادله بين يديك
ليظهر لك دينه ، فلم يواجه المعز البطرك بذلك ولا عرضه لمجادلة اليهودى ، لكن قال
له ان رايت ان تحضر احد اولادك الاساقفة يجادل اليهودى فافعل ، فقرروا بينهم
يوما معلوم يكون فيه اجتماعهم ، وكان من جملة الاساقفة حاضر اسقف قديس فاضل
على كرسى الاشمونين يسمى سويرس ويعرف بابن المقفع ، وكان كاتبا ثم صار اسقفا ،
واعطاه الرب نعمة وقوة في اللسان العربى الى ان كتب كتب كثيرة وميامر ومجادلات ،
ومن قرى كتبه عرف فضله وصحة علمه ، ودفعات كثيرة جادل قضاة من شيوخ المسلمين

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[1] من يفـ[ـعله] ا : كامله

بامر الملك المعز فغلبهم بقوة الله ونعمته . واتفق انه كان جالس عند قاضى القضاة اذ عبر عليهم كلب ، وكان يوم الجمعـة ، وكان هناك جماعة من الشهود ، فقال له قاضى القضاة ما تقول يا سويرس فى هذا الـكلب هو نصرانى او مسلم ، فقال له اساله فهو يجيبك عن نفسه ، فقال له القاضى هل الكلب يتكلم ، وانما نريدك انت تقول لنا ، قال نعم يجب ان نجرب هذا الـكلب وذلك ان اليوم يوم الجمعة والنصارى يصوموا ولا ياكاوا فيه لحم فاذا افطروا عشية يشربوا النبيذ والمسلمين ما يصوموه ولا يشربوا فيه النبيذ وياكلوا فيه اللحم ، فحطوا قدامه لحم ونبيذ فان اكل اللحم فهو مسلم وان لم ياكله وشرب النبيذ فهو نصرانى . فلما سمعوا كلامه تعجبوا من حكمته وقوة جوابه وتركوه . فاخذ البطرك انبا افرهام هذا الاسقف فى اليوم الذى استقر فيه حضوره بحضور الملك المعز ومضى معه الى القصر ، وحضر موسى اليهودى والوزير ابن كلس فجلسوا زمان طويل وهم سكوت ، فقال لهم الملك المعز تكلموا فيما اجتمعتم فيه ، ثم قال تكلم يا بطرك وقول لنايبك يقول ما عنده ، فقال البطرك للاسقف تكلم يا ولدى فان الله يوفقك ، فقال الاسقف للملك المعز ما يجوز خطاب رجل يهودى بحضرة امير المومنين ، فقال له اليهودى انت تعيبنى وتقول بحضرة امير المومنين ووزيره انى جاهل ، قال له الاسقف انبا سويرس اذا ظهر الحق لامير المومنين ما يكون فيه غضب ، قال الملك المعز ما يجوز ان يغضب احد فى المجادلة بل ينبغى للمجادلين ان يقول كل واحد منهم ما عنده ويوضح حجته كيف شا ، قال الاسقف ما انا شهدت عليك يا يهودى* بالجهل ١٤١ (ج) بل نبى كبير جليل عند الله شهد عليك بذلك قال له اليهودى ومن هو النبى ، قال له هو اشعيا الذى قال فى اول كتابه عن الله عرف الثور قانيه والحمار عرف مذود سيده واسرايبل لم يعرفنى ، فقال الملك المعز لموسى اليس هذا صحيح قال نعم هذا هو مكتوب ، قال الاسقف اليس قد قال الله ان البهايم افهم منكم وما يجوز لى ان اخاطب فى مجلس امير المومنين دام عزه من تكون البهايم اعقل منه وقد وصفه الله بالجهل ، فاعجب الملك المعز ذلك وامرهم بالانصراف واستحكمت

العداوة بين الفريقين وقوى غضب الوزير وصار يطاب عثرة على البطرك لاجل انه فضح
اليهود بين يدى الملك المعز ، والسيد المسيح يحفظ مختاريه وعبيده ، فلما كان فى بعض
الايام وجد السبيل الى ان قال للمعز مكتوب فى انجيل النصارى من كان فيه
ايمان مثل حبة خردل فانه يقول للجبل انتقل واسقط فى البحر فيفعل ، فيرى امير
المومنين رايه فى مطالبتهم بتصحيح هذا القول ليعلم انهم على محال وكذب ، فان هم لم
يفعلوا وجب ان يفعل بهم ما يستحقوه على كذبهم ، فوافقه هذا الكلام وانفذ الملك
المعز طلب انبا افرهام البطرك وقال له ماذا تقول فى هذا الكلام هو فى انجيلكم ام لا ،
قال البطرك نعم هو فيه ، قال له فهوذا انتم نصارى الوف وربوات فى هذه البلاد واريد
ان تحضر لى واحد منهم تظهر هذه الاية على يديه وانت يا مقدمهم يجب ان يكون
فيك هذا الفعل والا افنيتكم بالسيف ، حينيذ بهت البطرك وناله خوف عظيم ولم يدرى
ما يجيبه به ، فالهمه الله تعالى ان قال له امهلنى ثلثة ايام حتى ابحث واطلب من الرب
جل اسمه ان يطيب قلب امير المومنين على عبيده ، فامهله وعاد الى منزله بمصر واحضر
الكهنة والاراخنة بمصر وجميع الشعب الارثذكسى وعرفهم الامر وهو يبكى ، وكان بمصر
جماعة من رهبان وادى هبيب فجعل على جميعهم قانون ان لا يمضى احد منهم الى منزله
فى الثلثة ايام وان يجتمعوا لمداومة الصلاة فى البيعة الليل والنهار ، ففعلوا ذلك الثلثة
ايام ولياليها ، فاما البطرك فلم يفطر فيها بالجملة ، وبعضهم كان يفطر من الليل الى الليل
على خبز وملح وما يسير ، ولم يزل انبا ابرهام البطرك قايم يبكى بين يدى الله عنه فى
تلك الايام ولياليها حتى لم يبق فيه حركة ، وكان هذا الاجتماع المبارك فى كنيسة
السيدة بقصر الشمع المعروفة بالمعلقة ، ولما كان صباح اليوم الثالث سقط البطرك القديس
على الارض من حزن قلبه وصيامه وتعبه وغفى غفوة يسيرة فراى الست السيدة الطاهرة
مرتمريم وهى تقول له بوجه فرح ما الذى اصابك ، فقال لها ما تنظري حزنى
يا سيدتى فان ملك هذه الارض قال لى ان لم تظهر لى فى هذا اليوم اية فى الجبل
والا قتلت جميع اهل النصرانية بديار مصر وابدتهم من مملكتى بالسيف ، فقالت له

السيدة لا تخاف فانى ما اغفل عن الدموع التى سكبتها فى بيعتى هذه قوم الان وانزل
من ها هنا واخرج من باب درب الحديد الذى يودى الى السوق الكبير ففيما انت
خارج تجد انسان على كتفه جرة مملوة ما ومن علامته انه بعين واحدة فامسكه فهو
الذى تظهر هذه الاية على يديه ، فاستيقظ البطرك للوقت وهو مرعوب وكان غلس
ونهض بسرعة ولم يدع احد يعلم به حتى وصل الى الباب فوجده مغلقا ، فشك فى
قلبه وقال اظن ان الشيطان لعب بى ، ثم دعا البواب ففتح له فاول من دخل من
الباب الرجل الذى قيل له عنه فمسكه وقال له* بمطانوه من جهة الرب ارحم هذا ١٤١ (ظ)
الشعب ، ثم اخبره السبب فى اجتماعهم ، فقال له الرجل اغفر لى يا ابى فانى خاطى ولم ابلغ
الى هذا الحد ، فعند ذلك اخبره البطرك بما قالته له السيدة الطاهرة عند ظهورها له ،
ثم قال له ما صناعتك ، فاراد ان يخفيه امره ، فجعل عليه الصليب وربطه بالحروم
ان لا يخفيه شيا من امره فقال له يا ابى انا اخبرك بحالى على ان تكتمه ، انا رجل
دباغ وهذه عينى التى تراها انا قلعتها لاجل وصية الرب. عند ما نظرت ما ليس لى نظر
شهوة ورايت اننى ماض[1] الى الجحيم بسببها ففكرت وقلت الاصلح لى ان امضى الى
الحياة بفرد عين كما قال السيد المسيح اخير من ان امضى الى الجحيم بعينين ، وانا فى
هذا الموضع اجير لرجل دباغ ما افضل مما اعمل به فى كل يوم الا خبزا اكله والباقى
للستورين المنقطعين من الاخوه نسا ورجال وهذا الما اسقيه لهم كل يوم قبل ان امضى
الى شغلى وامضى به الى قوم فقرا منهم من لا قدرة لهم على شراه من السقا فنهارى كله
اعمل فى المدبغه وليلى قايم اصلى وهذه قضية حالى وانا اسلك[2] يا ابى لا تظهرنى
لاحد فليس لى قدرة ان احتمل مجد الناس بل الذى اقوله لك افعله اخرج انت
وكهنتك وشعبك كله الى الجبل الذى يقول لك الملك عنه ومعكم الاناجيل والصلبان
والمجامر والشمع الكبير وليقف الملك وعسكره وجماعته فى جانب وانت وشعبك فى جانب

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[1] ا ١٣٩ (ظ) : ماضى [2] اسلك] اقرأ : اسألك

وانا خلفك قايم فى وسط الشعب بحيث لا يعرفنى احد واقرا انت وكهنتك وصيحوا[1] قايلين يا رب ارحم ساعة طويلة ثم امرهم بالسكوت والهـــدوا وتسجد ويسجدون كلهم معك وانا اسجد معكم من غير ان يعرفنى احد وافعل هكـذى ثلث مرات وكل دفعة تسجد وتقف ثم تصلب على الجبل فسترى مجد الله ، فلما قال هذا القول طاب قلب البطرك بما سمعه منه ثم نهض وجميع الشعب معه وصعدوا الى الملك وقالوا له اخرج الى الجبل ، فامر جميع عساكره وخواصه ووجوه دولته بالخروج وضربت البوقات وخرج الملك المعز ووزيره معه وتقدم بخروج ذلك الكافر موسى ، ففعل الاب البطرك كما قال له ذلك القديس ووقف الملك المعز واصحابه فى جانب ، وجميع النصارى والبطرك فى جانب اخر ، ووقف الرجل خلف البطرك ولم يكن فى الجمع من يعرفه الا البطرك وحده ، وصرخوا يا رب ارحم دفعات كثيرة ثم امرهم بالسكوت وسجد على الارض وسجدوا جميعهم معه ثلث دفعات ، وكل دفعة يرفع وجهه ويصلب يرتفع الجبل عن الارض فاذا سجدوا نزل الجبل الى حده ، فخاف الملك المعز خوفا عظيما وصاح الملك والمسلمين الله اكبر لا اله غيرك ، ثم قال الملك المعز للبطرك بعد ثالث دفعة حسبك يا بطرك قد عرفت صحة دينكم ، فلما اهتدوا الناس التفت البطرك يطاب الرجل القديس فلم يجده ثم قال الملك للبطرك انبا افرهام تمنى على شى افعله لك ، فقال له ما اتمنا لا ان يثبت الله دولتك ويعطيك النصر على اعدايك ، فقال له تمنا يا بطرك فاعاد عليـه القول ثلثة دفعات ، فقال له الملك المعز لا بد ان تتمنا على شى ، قال له البطرك اذا كان ولا بد فانا اسال مولانا ان يامر ان امكن من بنا بيعة ابو مرقوره بمصر لانها كانت لما هدموها لم يمكنوهم من عمارتها وجعلت شونه للقصب وكـذلك المعاقة بمصر بقصر الشمع فانها انهدم من حيطانها شى كثير واعتل بعضها فسال الاذن فى عمارتها ايضا ، فامر للوقت ان يكتب له سجل بتمكينه من ذلك ، واطلق له من بيت المال ١٤٢ (ج) ما يصرفه فى العمارة* فاخذ السجل واعاد المال ، وقال للملك المعز الرب يثبت ملكك

[1] وصيحوا] ا ١٣٩ (ظ) : وضجوا

وبيت المال احق بهذا المال ، فلما قرى السجل عند بيعة ابو مرقوره فاجتمعوا الباعة الذين هناك واوباش الناس وقالوا لو قتلنا اجمعين بسيف واحد ما مكنا احد يجعل حجر على حجر فى هذه البيعة ، فعاد البطرك الى الملك المعز بالخبر فغضب لذلك وركب من ساعته وجميع عساكره حتى اتى الى المكان فوقف وامر بحفر الاساس ، فحفر بسرعة وجمع له عدة كثير من البنايين وحملت اليه الحجارة من كل مكان بامر الملك المعز وبنوا فيه لوقته ، فلم يجسر احد ينطق بكلمة الا شيخ واحد كان يصلى باوليك الباعة فى المسجد الذى هناك وهو الذى كان يجمع الجموع ويوليهم ، فرمى نفسه فى الاساس وقال اريد اليوم اموت على اسم الله ولا ادع احد يبنى هذه البيعة ، فعلم الملك المعز بذلك فامر ان ترمى عليه الحجارة ويبنا فوقه ، فلما رمى عليه الجير والحجارة اراد ان يقوم فلم يمكنوه الاعوان لان المعز امر بدفنه فى الاساس الذى طرح نفسه فيه ، فلما راى البطرك ذلك نزل عن دابته وتطارح بين يدى المعز وساله فيه الى ان امر باصعاده من الاساس ، فما صدق ان ينفلت منه سالما بعد ان اشرف على الموت ، وعاد الملك المعز الى قصره فلم يجسر احد بعد هذا ينطق بحرف واحد الى ان كملت عمارة البيعة ، وكذلك بيعة المعلقة بقصر الشمع ، وبنا كل البيع التى تحتاج الى العمارة ولم يعترضه احد فى شيا من ذلك . وكذلك البيع بالاسكندرية بنا فيها مواضع كثيرة كانت قد وهت[1] وانفق فى ذلك مالا عظيما فلم يمكنه ان يوفى الاسكندرانيين الالف دينار المستقرة لهم لنفقة بيعهم ، وبعد سوال كثير استقر ان يعطيهم فى كل سنة خمسماية دينار . وكان مدة مقام هذا البطرك انبا افرهام على الكرسى ثلث سنين وستة اشهر ، وتنيح مع ابايه القديسين ، ويقال ان انسان من الاراخنة يعرف بابى السرور الكبير كان له وجاهة فى الدولة وكان له سرارى كثير فامره باخراجهم فلم يفعل فاحرمه ومنعه من القربان فتحيل حتى سقاه سقيـة قتله ومضى الى الرب بسلام وبكا عليه الناس ، وكان فى تقدمته نبوة وذاك انه لما كان علمانى مضى الى دير ابو مقار بوادى

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(١) ا : وهنت

هبيب ليصلى هناك ومضى الى المغاير ليتبارك من السواح فاجتمع بواحد منهم وكان معه اثنين من اصحابه فبارك عليه ذلك القديس السايح واخذ بيده ومال به الى ناحية وقال يا اخى هوذا انظر الى صخرة عظيمة فوقك معلقة وهى نازلة عليك فلم يعلم معنى قوله فى ذلك اليوم وانه عنى له بذلك عظم جلالة البطركية التى استحقها من الله .

ولما صارت مملكة مصر للمعز كما قلنا انفا كان انبا مينا البطرك فى بعض ايامه فى ولاية جوهر وانبا افرهام بعده ، وكان المعز كلما اراد ان يعمل شى كعادته فى الغرب يمنعه منه جوهر بلطف وسياسة ويقول ان اهل مصر قوم فيهم مكر وفطنة لا يخف عنهم شيا فكانهم يعلموا الغيب ، فقال له يوم يا جوهر ان كان ما يقال عن فطنة المصريين صحيح فانا اريد اجربهم ثم امر ان يوخذ درج كبير وورق كمثل السجل ويطوى بلا كتابه ويختم ، فلما اوتى به دفعه للكاتب فعنونه باسم الملك المعز وامر بضرب البوق قدامه وان ينادى منادى فى الناس ان يحضروا لسماع سجل الملك وامر دواسيس يمشوا خلفه ويسمعوا ما يقولوه اهل مصر ، ففعل ذلك فسمعوا بعض الناس يقولوا امضوا بنا نسمع سجل الملك ، وبعضهم يقول لا تتعبوا ما فيه شى هو فارغ* ، فعادوا واعلموه فتعجب من ذلك جداً . ١٤٢ (ظ)

وفى بداية قسمة انبا افرهام بطركا كان الوزير بمصر ابو اليمن قزمان ابن مينا المقدم ذكره ، وكان رجل دين بتول لم يتزوج قط ولم يسمع عنه ان له صبوه ويفعل الخير مع كل الناس ومشكور من كل احد ورزق نعمة ومحبة من المعز بحسن سيرته ونيته وقوة امانته ، وكان يقبل قوله ومشورته وجعله متولى استخراج مال مصر ، ولم يزال هكذى الى ان صار انبا افرهام بطركا ، فلما راى يعقوب ابن كلس الوزير تقدمة ابو اليمن عند المعز حسده وخاف ان يجعله وزيرا عوضه فاشار على المعز وقال له قزمان ابن مينا يصلح ان تنفذه الى اعمال فلسطين ليدبرها لانه رجل مامون ، وكان غرضه ابعاده عن المعز فانفذه الى فلسطين ، فلما وصل اليها ونظر فيها استخرج منها ومن اعمالها مايتى الف دينار ، ثم قام خارجى من ديار الشرق يعرف بالقرمطى

فملك بلاد الشام حتى وصل الى اعمال فلسطين ، فلما بلغ قزمان ابن مينا خبره اخذ المال الذى حصله ومضى به الى دير فوق جبل تابور وسلمه لمقدم الدير وجعله وداعة عنده ليحفظه وعاد الى عمله ، فلما وصل اليه القرمطى قال له لا تخف فما يلحقك منى شر وانا اجعلك بصحبتى كما كنت مع المعز وعاهده على ذلك ، فكتبوا اصحاب الترتيب الى المعز بذلك ان ابو اليمن قزمان ابن مينا قد وافق القرمطى وصالحه ، فلما علم الوزير بذلك وجد السبيل الى ذكره بالردى وقال للمعز هذا قزمان ابن مينا الذى تقول انه ثقة مامون قد صالح عدوك ودفع له المايتى الف دينار التى استخرجها من بلادك ليقويه بها عليك ، فغضب المعز وانفذ قبض على جميع اهله ونهب مالهم واعتقلهم ، فلما وصل القرمطى الى مصر خرج المعز لمحاربته فهزمه وقتله وكتب قزمان ابن مينا الى المعز اعلمه بما جرى له مع القرمطى وكيف تلافاه الى ان تخلص منه وخلص المايتى الف دينار ، فنقم المعز على الوزير ابن كلس وقبض عليه وقتله وانفذ احضر قزمان ابن مينا الدين الفاضل ، فوصل والمال صحبته فاخلع عليه واكرمه بعد ان افرج عن جميع ماله واهله واعاد اليهم جميع مالهم الماخوذ ، وكان قزمان ابن مينا قد حصل قبل مسيره الى فلسطين تسعين الف دينار فلما اراد المسير دفعها للاب انبا افرهام البطرك وقال له اذا سمعت اننى توفيت فاصرفها فى خلاص نفسى للبيع والمستورين والمنقطعين والاسارى وان انا عدت فانا اخذ مالى ، فلما عاد الى مصر وانصلحت حاله مع المعز طلب من البطرك التسعين الف دينار فقال له سمعت ما جرى عليك فى الشام فظننت انك لا تعود الى هاهنا مما جرى على اهلك وخفت ان يبلغ المعز خبر المال فياخذه ولا يحصل لك منه شى ولا منفعة فى الاخرة فاصرفته فيما امرتنى به ، فلم يقول له كلمة ولا فى اى شى صرفت مالى ، بل قال له يا ابى قد احسنت الى وفعلت معى جميلا ورحمة اذ فرقت مالى على اهل الحاجة ولم تبقيه للملك ، ولما تنيح انبا افرهام بعد ان اقام ثلث سنين ونصف ولم يبق معه شى من التسعين الف دينار ولا من المال الكثير الذى كان معه

لنفسه قبل بطركيته درهم واحد بل اصرف جميع ذلك فى بنا بيعة والصدقات وما يرضى الله سبحانه ، وصار مثل الاب ابرهيم الاول فى اعماله المرضية وحسب مع الابرار فى ملكوت الله ، الرب يرحمنا بصلاته وصلاة كلمن ارضاه باعماله ، والمجد لله دايما ابدا سرمدا .

فيلاتاوس البطرك وهو من العدد الثالث والستون

واقام كرسى الاسكندرية ستة شهور خال بلا بطرك ، فاجتمع السنودس الى مصر كما جرت العاده وذكروا انسان راهب يسمى يوحنا بدير ابو مقار فى منشوبية تعرف بذكر قفرى ، فانفذوا اليه احضروه الى مصر ومعه تلميذ بصحبته اسمه فيلاتاوس ، فلما وصل يوحنا راوه شيخا كبير جدا قد طعن فى السن ولا يصلح لهذا الامر ، ونظروا ولده فيلاتاوس فاذا هو تام القامة فجعلوه بطركا فاعتمد* اخذ المال (ج) ١٤٣ على قسمة الاساقفة وكان على البيع سلامة عظيمة فى ايام الملك المعز الى ان مات ، وكذلك ايام ولده الذى ملك بعده وهو نزار ابى المنصور العزيز بالله وكان فى ايام هذا الملك جماعة كتاب نصارى مقدمين منهم قوم يعرفوا ببنى المطيع قرروا مع الاب البطرك ان لا يقسم اسقف الا برايهم لانه كان ياخذ المال ويقسم من لا يستحق ، وكان بمنوف العليا اسقف اسمه مقاره وكان كاتب السنودس وكان اخوه اسقف طانه واسمه مينا مقيم بدمروا[1] وكان البطرك بمحلة دانيال ساكن فتنيح انبا مينا الاسقف فى تلك الايام ، فقال اخوه انبا مقاره اسقف منوف للبطرك انبا فيلاتاوس ان انت سمعت منى اشرت عليك بمشورة جيدة ، قال له وما هى ، قال له هذا الكرسى الذى كان لاخى هو كرسى جيد وهو موضع ولدك

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[1] يلاحظ هنا أن الألف فى « دمرو » زائدة واعتاد كتاب القبط اضافتها على الكلمات المنتهية بواو الى عهد قريب

ولاخى فيه مسكن جيد بدمروا نخذ الان احد اخوتك الرهبان الذى فى قلايتك واوسمه عليه اسقفا واسكن مسكنه بدمروا و يصير الكرسى برايك ، فاستصوب رايه واخذ اباه الراهب الشيخ الذى كان عليه للبطركية المسما يوحنا فجعله اسقف فبلغ الخبر للاراخنة بمصر فاشتكوه للوزير فقبض عليه وطرحه فى السجن الى ان اخذ منه ثلثة الف دينار لبيت المال . وجرى فى ايامه امر عجيب لا يجب أن نغفل عن ذكره .

[1]من هاهنا قصة الواضح ابن ابو الرجا الشهيد من اهل مصر[1] . وهو ان شابا من المسلمين الشهود المعدلين بمصر الذين يحضرون مجلس قاضى الحكم بها وابوه رجلا شاهد يعرف بابن رجا ، وكان الشاب قد تعلم ناموس المسلمين وحفظ القران فعبر فى بعض الايام على ساحل البحر الموضع الذى يباع فيه الحطب والبوص ويعرف ببركة رميس بمصر فوجد انسانا كان مسلم وتنصر وقد تعلق به جند الملك وهم يمسكوه ، وقد اعدوا له بركة رميس بالحطب والبوص ليحرقوه ، وقد اجتمع عليه جمع كبير من الناس وهم متزاحمين لينظروه ، وكان هذا الشاب ابن رجا ابوه غيور جدا فى دينه كما كان بولص فى ذلك الزمان الذى فيه نودى من السما وقيل له شاوول شاوول لم تطاردنى ، وذلك القايل له هو الذى دعا هذا الشاب ليشاهد ذلك الشهيد ، فلما حضر مثل بولص تقدم الى ذلك الشهيد وهو فى وسط الجند وقال له ياانسان ما الذى حملك على هلاك نفسك بسبب دين تكفر فيه بالله تعالى وتشرك به اخر فتستعجل بهذه النار فى الدنيا وفى الاخرة نار جهنم لانك تجعل الله ثالث ثلثة وهو واحد لا يشبهه شى وتقول ان الله ولد ، والان فاسمع منى ودع عنك هـذا الكفر وعود الى دينك وانا اجعلك لى اخ ويكرمك كل احد ، فقال له لا تنسبنى الى الكفر والشرك بالله تعالى وانى نجعله ثلثة ونحن النصارى انما نعبد اله واحد هو الاب والابن والروح القدس وليس

(١-١) هذه العبارة مقطوعة من «م» وواردة بالمداد الأحمر فى ١٤١ ا (ج)

الابن غريب من الله الاب الذى هو كلمته وكذلك روحه وسر ديننا عجيب
مخفى عنكم لان عقولكم لا تحمله وانت الان يا هذا قلبك مظلم لم تضى فيه نور
الامانة وانا ارى انك بعد قليل يدنوا منك النور ويضى قلبك بنور المسيح
وتجاهد عن الذى انا اجاهد عنه وعلى اسمه ابذل نفسى وجسدى للالم [1] والموت
وستقبل انت ايضا هذه الالام التى انا فيها ، فلما سمع الشاب قوله حنق عليه وقال
اسمعوا ما يقول هذا الظال الكافر اترى اننى اكون ظال [2] كافر مثلك ثم قلع قدمه
من رجله ولطمه به على فمه ووجهه وراسه والمه باللطم جدا ، وقال له لا يكون
هذا ابدا ان اكون مثلك ايها المرذول ، فقال سوف تذكر كلامى وتعرف صحة قولى
ثم انهم ضربوا عنقه وطرحوا عليه حطب وبوص كثير حتى صار مثل القصر العال
١٤٣ (ظ) واطلقوا فيه النار* ، فلما راو الناس عظم تلك النار التى تلهب ظنوا ان جسده قد صار
رمادا وبقيت النار عليه ثلثة ايام والجند يحرسوه نهارا وليلا ، ومن بعد ذلك كشفوا
عنه نار الحريق فوجدوا جسده مثل الذهب لم يحترق منه شيا ، فاعلموا المعز بذلك
فامر بدفنه ومضى ابن رجا الشاهد الذى ذكرناه الى منزله وبات تلك الليلة وهو
وجع القلب لاجل ما خاطب به شهيد المسيح ، فلم ياكل ولم يشرب تلك الليلة
بل كان جالس باهت فاجتمع اليه ابوه واخوته وقالوا له ما الذى حل بك ، فاعلمهم
ما قاله الشهيد فعند ذلك عزوه وقالوا له لا تجعل فى قلبك شى من كلام ذلك الضال ،
فلم ينسى ما بقلبه ومن بعد تلك الايام ابصر الشاب المذكور جماعة من اهل مصر
معولين على الحجاز ليحجوا ، فقال لابوه اريد احج مع الناس ففرح ابوه بذلك ودفع له
ماية دينار وسلمه لصديق له من المسافرين الى مكة ، وقال له هذا ولدى قد سلمته
اليك تراعيه مثل ولدك الى ان تعيده معك ويكون فى صحبتك بمشية الله وابتاع له
كلما يحتاج إليه ، فلما ساروا ابصر الشاب منام فى بعض الليالى وكان شيخ راهب منير

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[1] فى م : للام] وصوابه فى ا ١٤١ (ج) . . [2] كذا فى ا . وفى م : ضال .

جدا وقف به وقال له اتبعنى تربح نفسك ، فلما استيقظ قص المنام على صديق والده الذى سار معه ، فقال له ياولدى يوفقك الله فان الراهب هو الشيطان يريد يجربك فلا تجعل فكرك عنده ، ثم ظهر له ليلة اخرى وقال له كما قال اول ليلة بلا زيادة ولا نقص ، وثالث ليلة ايضا قال هكذى ، فلما قضوا حجهم وعادوا مشوا ستة أيام أو سبعة وهم عايدين فنزلوا عن جمالهم ليلا ليريقوا الما ثم ركب الرجل صديق والده جمله وتاخر هو فانقطع عنه ولم يرى احد فسعى يجرى حتى تعب فلم يلحقهم وبقى وحده تايه فى البرية فجلس وهو خايف من وحوش البرية لا[1] ياكاوه ، واذا شاب راكب فرس بلباس مجمل متمنطق بمنطقة ذهب وقف قدامه فلما راه قال له من انت وكيف تهت فى هذه البرية وحدك ، فقال له الشاب نزلت عن جملى اريق الما فانقطعت عن رفقتى ، فقال له اركب خلفى الفرس فلما ركب طار به الفرس فى الجو فلم يدرى انه فى سما ولا فى ارض حتى صار بسرعة فى كنيسة الشهيد ابو مرقوره بمصر فانفتح له الباب وحده من غير ان يفتحه احد ودخل معه وهو راكب الفرس الى باب الاراديون فانزله هناك ولم يرجع يبصره ، فبقى باهت كانه فى منام للعجب الذى شاهده ، ثم فكر فى نفسه وقال هذا الذى حل بى اترى هذه بيعة النصارى والتفت فراى القناديل موقودة والصور ، فقال اليس الساعة كنت فى البرية فوقف داخل الاراديون الى ان اصبح الصبح فدخل امنوت البيعة وظن انه لص واراد ان يصيح ، فاشار اليه بيده ليسكت ويتقدم اليه فلما دنا منه قال له الشاب ما هذا الموضع ، قال له كنيسة ابو مرقوره بمصر ، قال له هذه مدينة مصر ، قال له نعم وهوذا اراك كانك طايش العقل فعرفنى خبرك وما حالك ، فحينيذ اهتدى الشاب وقال له كيف لا يضل عقلى وانا فى هذه الليلة كنت فى الموضع الفلانى وما عرفت كيف وصلت الى ها هنا الله هو العالم بذلك ، فلما سمع الامنوت بذكر المكان الذى كان فيه قال له

[1] كذا فى م وفى ا ولعل المقصود : لئلا

الم اقول لك انك طايش العقل ساهى لا تدرى ما تقول بينك وبين الموضع الذى
ذكرته مسافة شهر واثنى عشر يوما وعلى ما ارى ما انت الا لص وقوة الشهيد خلتك
تحتج بهذه الحجة البطالة ليتبين ما انت عليه فى دخولك الى بيعته ، فقال له الشاب
ومن صاحب هذه البيعة ، قال له هو القديس ابو مرقوره الجليل قال ابو مرقوره
١٤٤ (ج) نبى قال له القيم لا * ، ولكنه الشهيد الجليل القوى لانه ترك مجد هذا العالم وطلب
الاخرة ومات على اسم المسيح لاجل ايمانه به واظهاره اسمه قدام الملوك الكفرة
ولقى منهم عذاب كثير لاجل اسم المسيح وعوقب باصناف العذاب والوان العقوبات
الى ان اخذه الله اليه وقبله فى ملكوته السمايية الدايمة وبنيت هذه البيعة وغيرها على
اسمه فى مواضع كثير لتمجيد الله سبحنه فيها وله عند الله شفاعة مقبولة يشفع فى الناس
فيشفع فيهم ويظهر الله العجايب منه وبشفاعته ، قال له الشاب فكيف صفته وصورته
قال له هو يشبهك وفى سنك ثم اخذه ومضى به الى موضع صورته الجليلة فلما راها
قال حق هذه صورة الذى ظهر لى ورايته فى البرية وحملنى على ظهر فرسه هذه الى
ها هنا وهذه المنطقة الذهب التى رايتها فى وسطه كهيتها[1] والان فانا اعلمك اننى
رجلا مسلم من اهل هذه المدينة وقد رضيت لاجل هذه الاعجوبة ان اصير نصرانى ،
واخبر القيم بجميع ما جرى له وقال له انا ابن رجا الشاهد وما اقدر اظهر ليلا احرق
بالنار وتحرق البيعة بسببى لكن اريد ان تصنع معى جميلا وتاخذ الاجرة من السيد
المسيح وتخفينى فى موضع حتى لا يرانى فيه احد حتى ادبر ما افعل واتينى بكاهن
خادم لله تعالى تقى فاضل فهيم عالم يعلمنى قوانين النصارى ومذهبهم وفرايض شريعتهم
ويثبتنى فى الامانه فان قلبى قد مال الى هذا الدين ، فاجابه القيم الى ذلك واخفاه
عنده فى موضع مخفى فى البيعة ومضى الى شيخ قس عالم تقى فاضل فاعلمه قضية
الحال ، فنهض معه وهو مسرور به فلما اجتمعا اجابه القس عن كلما سايله[2] عنه وابانه

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(١) كذا فى ا والمقصود كهيئتها (٢) سايله اى سأله

له وفهمه حقيقة الامر فيه ، فساله الشاب ان ياتيه بالاناجيل وكتب البيعة العتيقة والحديثة[١] ويفسر له القبطى باللسان العربى ، وقال له اريد اقراها وافهمها واعرفها ليثبت عندى صحة الامانة باساس قوى لان هذه الالام والاوجاع لا تحتمل باطلا ، فاحضر له القس الانجيل وكتب الانبيا وجميع كتب العتيقة والحديثة[١] الدالة على حقيقة الامانة الارتذكسية ووحدانية السيد المسيح احدى الثلثة اقانيم الاب والابن والروح القدس وان الله لاهوت واحد وسبب تجسده وموته المحيي وقيامته من الموتى وطلوعه الى السما وحلول الروح القدس البارقليط على الرسل ورجوع الناس من الضلالة[٢] الى صحة الامانة ، فقال الشاب مبارك هو الذى سلك هذه الطريقة الذى هو شاوول المسمى بولص الذى سمع صوت الرب يقول له شاوول شاوول مالك تناصبنى ثم اصطفاه من ضلالته[٣] هكذى اسله[٤] ان يهدينى وينعم على بالاصطفا لاظهر اسمه بين الامم ، وتمام هذا الكلام ياتى فى موضعه من هذه السيرة ، واقام اياما يبحث فى كتب العتيقة والحديثة حتى انار الله قلبه ووقف على سراير المذهب وصحة الامانة كما قال الرسول ان الانسان اذا عاد الى الرب زالت الغشاوة عن قلبه وعرف ما كان فيه من الضلالة التى افنى فيها عمره وثبت اساسه على الصخرة الذى هو المسيح ، وقال ما قاله بولص ما الذى يفرقنى من محبة المسيح ضيق ام سبى ام جوع ام نار ام سجن وبقية الفصل لا يقدر شياً من هذا يفرقنى من حب المسيح ، فلما قوى قلب ذلك الشاب فى الامانة المستقيمة سال الشيخ الكاهن ان يعمده فخاف ليلا تكون ضربة من الشيطان فاشار على الشاب المذكور بان يمضى الى وادى هبيب ، فمن كثرة شهوته ساله سوالا عظيما بمطانوات كثيرة وقال له ربما لا اعيش حتى اصل الى هناك والزمه بكثرة تضرعه له*، وبكاه حتى عمده وسماه بولص ، فلما لبس نور حلة المعمودية التمس ثياب زرية ابتاعها من السوق ولبسها وساله ان يصلى عليه وخرج ولم يعرفه احد

١٤٤ (ظ)

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(١) العهدان القديم والجديد (٢) فى ا ١٤٢ (ج) : الظلالة . ووردت بكلا الوضعين ، راجع ما تقدم (٣) فى ا : ظلالته . انظر الحاشية السابقة (٤) كذا فى ا ، م والمقصود : اسأله .

لتغيير زيه وسحنته من كثرة صومه وصلاته واجتهاده وانتصابه لقراة[١] الكتب الذى كانت قراتها[٢] عنده كالشهد ، واما الحجاج فانهم وصلوا الى مصر وكانت العادة جارية بان ينفذوا اذا قربوا من مصر من يخبر بوصولهم فخرج اهل الحجاج مسافة يومين يستقبلوهم من بعيد ، فلما خرجوا اخوته من جملة الناس للقايه وطافوا عليه وسالوا عنه فلم يعرفوا خبره ، فلما وجدوا صديق ابوهم هناك مالوا اليه وسالوا عنه فبكا وعرفهم ان اخاهم تاه فى البرية ليلا ، وقال لهم وقفت طويلا انتظره فلم يجى وحثنى السير فلحقت اعقاب القافلة فسرت بغير اختيارى وحال الليل بينى وبينه وظننت انه ربما كان تقدمنى فى اول القافلة فلما اصبحت طفت يومى كله عليه فى القافلة من اولها الى اخرها وسالت كلمن فيها عنه فما عرفت له خبر فعلمت انه قد انقطع من القافلة فى ذلك الموضع واكلوه الوحوش فلما سمعوا هذه منه شقوا ثيابهم وعادوا الى ابيهم فاخبروه بذلك فاقام عليه مناحة وجنازة عظيمة ، فلما انقضت ايام الجنازة كان شاب من اصدقاه ساكن بجوار بيعة الشهيد ابو مرقوره بمصر فابصره يوم قد خرج من البيعة وعاد اليها وعليه ثياب صوف وعليه زنار صوف فقال بالحقيقة ان الناس يتشابهوا ولو لم يكن ابن رجا قد مات لقلت انه هذا ، ثم لقى ابوه واخوته فقال لهم اردت اليوم ان امسك انسان نصرانى عند كنيسة ابو مرقوره وقلت انه ولدكم لولا علمى بموته لقلت انه هو لانه يشبهه فى كل شمايله حتى مشيته وما شككت فيه الا بلباسه الصوف والزنار ، فلما سمعوا هذا تجـــــدد عليهم الحزن والبكا . ثم ان اخوته اشتهيا ان ينظرا ذلك الشخص الذى قيل انه يشبه اخوهما فنهضا للعشا وهم متنكرين بلباس زرى واختفيا فى ركن عند باب البيعة ينظرا من يخرج ومن يدخل وقت صلاة الغروب ، فلما انقضت الصلاة وخرجوا النصارى خرج الشاب فى وسطهم فتاملوه فعرفوه وتبعوه الى الساحل فلما صاروا فى موضع منقطع عن الناس مسكاه وبكيا وضربا وجوههما وقالوا

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(١) اقرأ : لقراءة (٢) اقرأ : قراءتها

له ما هذا الذى فعلته بنا يا اخونا فقال لهما الذى بى ما تعرفاه ، فقال احدهما للاخر ما هذا موضع خطاب ليلا يكون قد داخله شيطان فنفتضح بين الناس ، ولازماه الى ان مضيا به الى البيت برفق فجدد اهله الجنازة لما راوه على تلك الحالة ، فخاطبه ابوه وامه وقالا لاخوته لا تخاطبوه انتم حتى نكشف نحن عن حاله ليلا نصير فضيحة ، ثم اغلقوا الابواب ودخلوا به الى موضع منفرد فلما تحققوا حاله قالوا له ما انت ولدنا قال لهم انا بولس يعنى الاسم الذى سموه به وقت المعمودية ، قال له ابوه فضحتنى يا ولدى وفضحت شيخوختى بين القضاة والشهود ولعلك فعلت هذا لانى لم ازوجك وقد كنت معتقد اننى ازوجك اذا رجعت من الحج لاجل من فى مصر وانفق فى عرسك مالا كثير ، ومكثوا يسالوه ويقولوا له لا تفضحنا فى وسط الناس ولا تخزينا فى هذه المدينة ولم يزالوا معه الى نصف الليل وهو يقول لهم ما اعرف ما تقولوا ، فلما لم يجدوا فيه حيلة جعلوه فى بيت مظلم ثلثة ايام بلا طعام بلا شراب فلم يقدروا عليه ، ولعظم بكا امه وحزنها لم تفطر ايضا ، فاخرجوه وقدموا له طعام فلم ياكل منه شى ، وكان كانه قد خرج من صنيع او وليمة غير محتاج الى طعام* ولا الى شراب كما ١٤٥ (ج) قال اشعيا النبى ان الذين عقولهم عند الرب تبدل قواهم ولا يجوعوا ولا يعطشوا ، فلما اعياهم امره تشاوروا على قتله ليلا يفتضحوا به ثم انهم رقت قلوبهم عليه واخرجوه سرا ومضوا به الى الجيزه وقالوا له ابعد عنا نستريح من فضيحتك ، فمضى الى وادى هبيب واقام هناك عند راهب فعلمه طرق الله ورهبه ، فلما اقام اياما قلايل قال له بعض من لا يفهم من الرهبان ان الرب لا يقبل نصرانيتك الا ان تمضى الى مصر وتشتهر بحيث تعرف ، فسمع منه وعاد الى مصر طاعة لهم ومضى الى منزل ابوه وقد وطن نفسه على القتل على اسم المسيح ، فلما راه ابوه بزى الرهبان ضج واغتاض[1] منه وقال له ما هذه الفضيحة مضيت وعدت الى بطرطور صوف يعنى القلنسوة المقدسة التى هى

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[1] اغتاض = اغتاظ

بيضة الخلاص ، ثم اخذه وحبسه فى مطمورة مظلمة يطرح فيها كناسة التراب والرماد ووسخ الدار واطبق عليه طابقها واقسم على كلمن فى الدار لا يعطوه خبز ولا ما ومتى دفع له احد شى من ذلك عاقبه وامر غلمانه وجواره ان يرموا عليه كلما يكنسوه من تراب ورماد ووسخ الدار وغسالة القدور ، واقام كذلك سته ايام وامه باكية لا تفتر من البكا بسببه وهى حزينه عليه جدا ، وكانت تدلى له الخبز والما بحبل فلا يذوق منه شى فلما كان بعد الستة ايام ضعفت قوته وكان ملازم الصوم والصلاة ليله ونهاره ، وظهر له فى اليوم السابع الراهب الذى كان ظهر له اولا فى طريق مكة وفى يده خبز نقى فظن انه خيال فلم ياكل منه شيا حتى عرف انه امرا ظهر له من عند الله ، فقال له الراهب تعرفنى ، قال له نعم انت الذى رايتك فى المنام ثلث دفعات فى طريق مكة ، قال له نعم انا ذاك وانا مقاره اب وادى هبيب والان فقد ارسلت اليك لاعزيك فتقوى واصبر فان لك مجازاة عظيمة ، ثم غاب عنه فاخذ ذلك الخبز واكل بعد ان صلب عليه فقويت نفسه ، ثم ان ابوه اخرجه من ذلك الموضع وتعجب من بقاه بلا طعام ولا شراب هذه المدة ولم يتغير وجهه ، فخاطبه فى الرجوع عما هو عليه وتعب معه فلم يقدر عليه بوجه من الوجوه وكان له قديما سرية قد رزق منها ولدا قبل مضيه الى مكة فتقدم ابوه الى اخوه الكبير بان يحضرها ، فلما حضرت امره ان يجامعها قدامه ففعل ذلك ووهبها له وولده الطفل يتعلم العوم فقال لابوه المومن القديس ان انت لم تطيعنى وترجع عما انت عليه والا غرقت ابنك قدامك هذا الذى انت تحبه ، فقال نعم انا احبه وهو ولدى غير انى احب الرب اكثر منه ، فاحضر العوام الذى يعومه سرا ودفع له دينارين وقال له اذا نزل الصبى معك عشية لتعلمه العوم غرقه وانا احضر لانظره واعرف بانه هو ، فاجابه العوام الى ذلك فلما كان عشية اخذ ابن رجا الشاهد ولده الراهب ابو الصبى ومضى به معه الى البحر ونزل بالصبى مع معلمه الى البحر ليعومه فلما صار فى وسط البحر غرقه وابوه الراهب ينظر اليه ، ثم ان اباه اعاده الى داره وحبسه فى موضع اخر منها وكتب فيه رقعة للسلطان ، وكان الخليفة

فى ذلك الزمان الحاكم بامر الله كما قال الرب فى الانجيل يسلم الاب ابنه الى الموت ،
فامر الخليفة بحضوره مع ابيه عند قاضى القضاة والشهود ويناظروه فان وجب عليه
شيا يقتل واذا لم يجب عليه شيا فيطلق سبيله ، فلما اجتمعوا لذلك بحضور واسطة
خير اقامه الحاكم بامر الله ولم يثبت لابوه عليه حجة كما قال السيد المسيح انى اعطيكم
نطق وحكمة لا يقدر احد يقاومها* ، فانصرفوا خايبين خجلين ولم يرجع احد يخاطبه ١٤٥ (ظ)
فامر الحاكم باطلاقه يمضى الى حيث شا ، فمضى الى راس الخليج وشرع فى عمارة بيعة
هناك ما بين بركة الحبش وبنى وايل على اسم الملاك الجليل ميخاييل وبناها ، وكان بمصر
قوم من الرمادية فمضوا ليلا وسرقوا الخشب من هذه البيعة ، فلما اصبح هذا القديس
ابن رجا ابصر بعضهم فى تلك الناحية فقال لهم قد عرفت انكم البارحة اخذتم الخشب
وعرفت الموضع الذى خبيتموه فيه فعيدوه الى موضعه والا شكوتكم اوالى القاهرة ،
فانكروا ذلك وقالوا ما اخذنا شى ، قال لهم انا امضى الي الحاكم بامر الله وهو ان
شا الله يتقدم باخذ الخشب من حيث جعلتموه فيه وتتاذوا منه ، فخافوا واعادوا
الخشب الى البيعة على تمامه وكان هذا القديس ابن رجا قد سمى نفسه الواضح وصار
صديقا للرجل العالم الفاضل انبا ساويرس اسقف الاشمونين المعروف بابن المقفع الذى
ذكرناه انفا وهو الذى صنف عشرون [مقالة] سوى[1] ميامر وتفاسير واجوبة ومسايل
لابى البشر ابن جارود الكاتب المصرى ، وهذه اسما العشرين كتابا : كتاب التوحيد ،
كتاب الاتحاد ، كتاب الباهر رد على اليهود ، كتاب الشرح والتفصيل رد على النسطورية ،
كتاب فى الدين كتبه الوزير قزمان ابن مينا ، كتاب نظم الجوهر ، كتاب المجالس ،
كتاب طب الغم وشفا الحزن ، كتاب المجامع ، كتاب تفسير الامانة ، كتاب التبليغ رد
على اليهود ، كتاب الرد على سعيد ابن بطريق ، كتاب فى معنى اطفال المومنين والكفار
وكيف تقوم النفسين ، كتاب الاستيضاح وهو مصباح النفس ، كتاب السير ،

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[1] ساقطة من م وواردة فى ا

كتاب الاستبصار ، كتاب ترتيب الكهنوت الاثنى عشر طقوس البيعة ، كتاب اختلاف الفرق ، كتاب الاحكام ، كتاب ايضاح الاتحاد . وهذه الكتب قد سمى بعضها بخلاف ما ذكرناه ، وربما كان للكتاب اسمين ، وكان ساويرس الاسقف المذكور والواضح ابن رجا القديسين يتذاكرا اكثر اوقاتهما ويفتشا كتب الله لنور عقولهما وجوهرهما حتى انهما فسرا الكتب الروحانية ، ثم ان الواضح ابن رجا فسر كتابين باللغة العربية احدهما سماه الواضح وهو الاعتراف واظهر فيه اعوار المخالفين واخصمهم[1] من كتابهم ، والكتاب الاخر سماه نوادر المفسرين ، واحرق المخالفين بهذين الكتابين وخصمهم من دينهم كما فعل صمصوم الجبار لما جعل السرج فى اذناب الثعالب واطلقها فى زرع اعدايه فاحرقه ، وكتب فيها شرح حاله فى نفسه وقال فيها ان الاسقف انبا ساويرس ابن المقفع حكى له انه كان ببغداد انسان مقدم ابن ملك يعرف بالهاشمى وانه لم يهتم قط بشى من امور المملكة ولا كسوة ولا جمال سوى انه كان يركب فى كل يوم ومعه جنده ويرصد بيع النصارى فى وقت القداس فيدخلها راكب ويامر باخذ القربان من على الهيكل ويكسروه ويخلطوه بالتراب ويقلب الكاس ، وكلما فعل ذلك فى بيعة مضى الى اخرى وفعل فيها مثل ذلك حتى كادت بغداد تخلوا بيعها من القداسات وامتنع اكثر الكهنة من القداس خوفا من هذا وكانت معونة الله تجذبه ولا يدرى ، فلما كان فى فى بعض الايام دخل الى بيعة من البيع كعادته ففتح الله عينيه فابصر فى صينية القربان طفلا جميلا نبيلا وفى وقت القسمة ابصر الكاهن وقد ذبحه وصفى دمه فى الكاس ١٤٦ (ج) وفصل لحمه قطعة قطعة فى الصينية ، فبهت الهاشمى ولم يستطيع الحركة* ، ثم خرج الكاهن يقرب الشعب باللحم وكذلك الشماس بكاس الدم وهو ينضرهما[2] فتعجب وقال لجنده الا تروا هذا الفاعل الصانع يعنى الكاهن ، قالوا له نحن نراه ، قال لهم نصبر لهذا ياخذ طفلا يذبحه ويقسم لحمه على هذا الجمع العظيم ويسقيهم من دمه ، فقالوا له الله

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[1] أى خاصمهم بمعنى ساجلهم [2] ينضرهما] ا ١٤٤ (ج) : ينظرهما

يوفقك يا سيدنا ما نرى نحن الا خبز وخمر فزاد خوفه وتعجبه وبقوا الشعب متعجبين لوقوفه باهت ولم يفعل بالقربان ما جرت به عادته ، فلما فرغ الكاهن وخرجوا الناس استدعى الكاهن وقال له ما راه ، فقال له يا سيدنا اعيذك بالله ما هو الا خبز وخمر ، فلما علم ان هذا السر ما ظهر الا له فقط فقال له اريد تعرفنى سر هذا القربان وبدايته ، فعرفه الكاهن كيف كان السيد المسيح اخذ الخبز والشراب فقسم ذلك على تلاميذه وقال لهم خذوا وكلوا هذا هو جسدى واشربوا هذا دمى اشربوا منه كلكم غفرانا لخطاياكم ، وعلمونا التلاميذ صلاة نقولها على الخبز والخمر اذا جعلناهما على المذبح فيتحول الخبز يصير لحم ويصير الخمر دما سرا كما اراك الله اليوم وهما فى الظاهر خبز وخمر لانه ما يقدر احد فى العالم ياخذ لحما نيا ولا يشرب دما غبيطا وانما الله اظهر لك هذا السر الخفى الحقيقى المقدس خلاص لنفسك ، ثم انه قرى عليه كتب الكنيسة وبين له سراير المذهب المسيحى حتى طاب قلبه بالدخول فيه ، وعرف شرفه وحقيقته ، وتحقق علومه وصحته ، فامر اصحابه بالانصراف وبات هناك مع الكاهن وعمده بالليل وصار نصرانيا ، فلما كان بالغداة اتاه اصحابه بالدابة طردهم ولم يكلمهم ، فلما علموا الخبر مضوا الى ابوه واعلموه فصار فى حزنا شديدا وانفذ احضره بغير اختياره وخاطبه باللين والصعب وتعب معه بكل فن واجتهد به واكثر من السوال له فى وقت والتخويف فى وقت فلم يقدر منه على شى ولا رجع عن رايه ، فعند ذلك اسلمه للعذاب فعذب عذابا شديدا فلم يرجع عن امانته ، فقطعت راسه بالسيف على اسم السيد المسيح وتمت شهادته بركاته تحل علينا وشفاعته تكون معنا ، فاما جسده المقدس فاكرموه وعظموه النصارى ببغداد وبنوا عليه بيعة وهى الان تعرف بكنيسة الهاشمى . ولما كمل القديس بولص ابن رجا عمارة الكنيسة التى لميكاييل فى راس الخليج عاد[1] الى وادى هبيب واقام هناك سنتين ، فلما رات الرهبان ما هو عليه من العبادة والعلم والمعرفة مسكوه قهرا

[1] عاد] مكررة فى م

وقسموه قسا فى اسكنا بنيامين المقدسة ، فطالبوه تلاميذ البطرك بدنانير كعادتهم فصعب ذلك عليه جدا ولم يكن معه شى فراهم بعض الاراخنة يطالبوه وقد ازعجوه بالطلب فدفع لهم عنه ما طلبوه ، فلما بلغ خبره لابوه انه قد صار قسيسا لم يصبر عليه قلبه بل انفذ دنانير الى عند بعض العربان الذين فى تلك البرية ليقتلوه ، فلما سمع بعض الرهبان اعلموه وقالوا له قد فعلت ما يجب واظهرت اسم المسيح فى الموضع الذى لا يجب اظهاره والان فلا تسلم نفسك للموت لكن امضى الى الريف فكن فيه مخفيا ، فاطاعهم وخرج الى سندفا فاقام فيها سنتين وصار قيم فى كنيسة الشهيد تادرس ملازما لخدمتها ليلا ونهارا ، فدخل الشيطان فى قلب قوما منهم فاذاعوا خبره فى سندفا والمحلة وتحدثوا بقضية حاله ، فكان ذلك قبل وفاته بيومين ، واتفق حضور شماس من اهل منوف اسمه تيدر ابن مينا وكان يوميذا كاتب السنوديقا بكرسى مارى مرقص البشير وهو الذى* اخذت انا الحقير ميخاييل ناظم هذه السيرة خدمته بعد وفاته ، فلما دخل البيعة المذكورة بسندفا فوجد القديس بولس ابن رجا وهو مريض بحما شديدة فقال له بولص المذكور مطانوه لا تفارقنى حتى تواربنى التراب وتاخذ البركة فما بقى لى فى العالم الا يومين فاذا انا قبضت فبادر بدفنى قبل ان يعلموا المسلمين فياخذوا جسدى فيحرقوه بالنار ، وكان قوله روح نبوة تكلمت فيه ، فلما كان بعد يومين تنيح كما قال فاذاع الشيطان خزاه الله خبره فى المحلة وسندفا ، فعدوا اهل المحلة الى سندفا واجتمعوا اهل المدينتين فى اقل من ساعة وحاطوا بالبيعة التى تنيح فيها ، فتحير الشماس تيدر المقدم ذكره ولم يدرى ما يعمل بجسده ، وفيما هو حاير يمشى فى البيعة نزلت رجله تحت العتبه فتامل الموضع فوجده مطمورة حسنة نظيفة مخفية ، فانزل جسد القديس بولس فيها واردم التراب واعاد البلاطة كما كانت عليه واصلح الموضع كما يجب ، ثم فتح الباب فدخل اوليك المجتمعين وطلبوا جسده فلم يجدوه ، فطافوا البيعة كلها فلم يجدوه فخرجوا مخزيين وهذا الشماس تيدر هو الذى شرح لى حال هذا القديس بولس ابن رجا من اوله الى اخره عن حكايته له من فمه الصادق فكتبت ما قاله ، وحكي عنه انه قال كلما جرى

١٤٦ (ظ)

على من العـذاب وما حل بى من الهوان لم يقلقنى غير ثلثة اشيا وهى مجامعة اخى لسريتى قدامى وتغريق ولدى منها قدامى وانا انظره واعظم منهما كون البطرك يبصرنى وتلاميذه يطالبونى بالدنانير على قسمته لى قسيسا وهو ساكت لا يمنعهم ولا يردعهم .

وكان الاب فيلاتاوس[1] البطرك مستمر على جمع المال والاكل والشرب ، وقيل انه بنا حمام فى داره وكان يدخلها كل يوم واذا خرج يخر بخور طايل جدا ثم يجلس يحكم ويامر وينهى الى اربعة ساعات من النهار ثم يقوم ، واذا كانت سادس ساعة يهيا له من الطعام والشراب ما يحتاج اليه وفواكه ويقوم يدخل داره ويحضر عنده قوم عادتهم جارية ان يجالسوه وينادموه من اهل دمروا ومن اهله واقاربه فياكل معهم ويشرب ولا يصل اليه احد بقية يومه الى ثانى يوم ، ودفعات كثيرة يجلس للاكل والشرب من بكرة او ثالث ساعة من النهار ما خلا الايام التى يجب فيها الصوم ، فلما استمر على ذلك ادبه الله بضربه لامر صادفه ، وذلك انه فى بعض الايام فى الحمام ومعه تلميذه يخدمه فخرج ياخذ دلوك وعاد فوجـده مطروحا لايعى ولا يفيق ، فحمله واخرجه منها واحضروا له الاطبا وتعبوا فى مداواته فلم يقدروا له على حيلة لان يد الرب ضربته وبقى هكذى الى يوم وفاته ، وكان الملك العزيز لله ابن المعز لدين الله قد رزق ولدا من سرية له روميـة وجلس فى الملك بعده ولقب بالحاكم بامر الله ، وكان للسرية المذكورة التى هى ام الحاكم اخ اسمه ارسانى فجعلته بطركا للملكيه بعنايتها لان السلطان كان لها فقوى على بيعنا بفسطاط مصر ، وكان لنا بقصر الشمع بيعتين على اسم الست السيدة الطاهره احدهما المعلقة والاخرى بزقاق ابو حصين ، فاراد ان ياخذ المعلقة فجرت لمقدمينا معه خطوب كثيرة وخصايم الى ان اخذ كنيسة السيدة بزقاق ابو حصين وبقيت المعلقة لنا . وفى ايامه انفذ ملك الحبشة الى ملك النوبه كتابا واسمه جرجس وعرفه ما ادبه الرب به هو واهل كورته ، وهو ان امراة ملكة على بنى

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[1] فيلاتاوس] ا ١٤٤ (ظ) : فيلوتاوس

١٤٧ (ج) الهموية ثارت عليه وعلى كورته* وسبت منها خلق كثير واحرقت مدن كثير واخربت البيع وطردته من مكان الى مكان وان هذا الذى لحقه جزى[1] عما كان الملك الذى قبله فعله مع المطران فى ايام الاب انبا قزما مما قد شرحناه اولا من تزويره وكذبه ، وقال له فى الكتاب الذى انفذه له احب ان تساعدنى وتشاركنى فى التعب منجل[2] الله ومن اجل اتفاق الامانة وتكتب كتاب من جهتك الى الاب البطرك بمصر تسله ان يحللنا ويحلل بلادنا ويصلى علينا ليزيل الله عنا وعن ارضنا هذا البلا وينعم لنا بان يقسم لنا مطران كما جرت عادة ابائنا ويدعى لنا بان يزيل الله غضبه عنا ، وذكرت لك ايها الاخ ذلك خوفا من ان ينقرض ويبطل دين النصرانية من عندنا لان هوذا ستة بطاركة قد جلسوا ولم يلتفتوا الى بلادنا بل هى سايبه بلا راعى ، وقد ماتوا اساقفتنا وكهنتنا ، وقد خربت البيع وعلمنا انه بحكم حق نزل علينا هذا البلا عوضا مما فعلناه بالمطران ، فلما وصلت الكتب الى جرجس ملك النوبه ووقف عليها انفذ من جهته كتبا ورسلا الى البطرك فيلاتاوس وشرح له فيها جميع ما ذكره ملك الحبشة وساله ان يترااف على شعبه فاجاب سواله ورسم لهم راهبا من دير ابو مقار اسمه دانيال وانفذه لهم مطرانا فقبلوه بفرح وازال الله عنهم الغضب وابطل امر الامراة التى قامت عليهم .

وفى ايام هذا الاب ظهرت عجايب كثيرة شهد بها الثقات الصادقين ، منها ان الشمس اظلمت من ثالث ساعة من النهار الى الساعة السادسة وكانت الظلمة مثل الليل وظهرت النجوم فى السما وبكوا الناس وحزنوا وظنوا انه امرا لا ينقضى ، ومن بعد ذلك ترحم الله وظهرت الشمس . وحكى سرور ابن جرجه ارشى دياقن الاسكندرية انه حضر يوما فى بيعة مارى مرقص الانجيلى بالاسكندرية وفيها انبا فيلاتاوس البطرك ومعه جماعة من الاساقفة منهم انبا مرقص اسقف البهنسى وانبا سويرس اسقف ابو صير وان

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[1] جزى = جزاء [2] منجل = من اجل

البطرك طلع الى هيكل مارى مرقص ووقف على البلاطه السودا وقدس فلما رفع الضورون اسكت فلم يقدر ينطق بكلمة فلقنوه الاسقفان المذكوران الكلام فلم يقدر ينطق بكلمة واحدة فجلس وطلع انبا مرقس اسقف البهنسى فكمل القداس والتفصيل وقرب الشعب وحمل البطرك الى دار ابو مليح ابن قوطين عامل الاسكندرية وهو والد ابو الفرج وعبيد ، ولم يزال الاب البطرك ساكتا الى تسع ساعات من النهار واسقوه طين ابيض وماورد فلما افاق سالوه الجماعة ان يعلمهم السبب فيما ناله فامتنع ، فالحوا عليه بالسوال ، فقال يا اولادى لما رفعت الضورون ومن قبل ان اصلب عليه رايت الشاق قد انشق وخرجت منه يد من راس الحنيه الى اسفل فصلبت اليد على الضورون فانشق فى يدى واسكت للوقت ، فلما قال هذا جف منه عضو وبقى جاف وكانت مدة بطركيته اربعة وعشرين سنة وثمانية شهور ، وتنيح فى اليوم الثانى عشر من هتور ، وقيل عن اهله انهم وجدوا له مالا عظيما من جملة ما جمعه فى بطركيته وقسموه فيما بينهم وكانوا اربعة اخوة ونفذ المال منهم ورايت انا ميخاييل منهم انسان فى زمان غلا وهو يتسول . وفى ايامه مات العزيز ملك مصر وجلس ولده الحاكم وكان صغيرا جدا وكانت له امور عجيبة وسنذكر شيا منها بمعونة الله الذى له المجد والقدرة الى ابد الابدين امين .

*السيرة الخامسة والعشرين من سير البيعة المقدسة
انبا زخارياس البطرك وهو من العدد الرابع والستون[١]

فلما كان فى مملكة الحاكم بامر الله المسمى الامام المنصور وكان كرسى الاسكندرية خال اجتمع السنودس ليقدموا بطركا ، وفيما هم يتشاوروا كان بالاسكندرية رجلا موسرا اسمه ابرهيم ابن بشر وكان له كرامة عند الولاة وكلمن فى البلد يسمع منه ويطيعه ، وكان تاجر مكثر فى بلاد مصر ، وكان يهادى ويكرم مقدمى مصر ، وكانوا لا يخالفوه فيما يريد ، فسال وطلب البطركية الى ان كتب له سجل وانفذوا صحبته الى الاسكندرية استاذين يساعدوه فيما يريد ويلزموا الاسكندرانيين بتقدمته بطركا عوضا من فيلاتاوس البطرك المتنيح لان النوبة كانت للاسكندرانيين فى هذه الدفعة فى اقامة البطرك . وكان المجمع بالاسكندرية وقد طابت قلوب[٢] جماعة من اهلها ببطركيته وكتبوا الى مصر بذلك ، فلما علموا الاساقفه بذلك لم يوافقوهم على هذا الراى وصعب عليهم الامر لان القانون كما قالوا لا يجوز لهم ذلك وعولوا على ايقاف الامر ويمضى كل واحد منهم الى كرسيه ، وبينما هم مجتمعين فى بيعة مارى مرقص الانجيلى القمحا وكان بالاسكندرية فى بيعة ميكاييل[٣] رييس الملايكة قس شيخ اسمه زخاريا[٤] وكان قيم جميع بيع الاسكندرية وكانوا الاساقفة نازلين عنده فى البيعة وكان يخدمهم مدة مقامهم بالاسكندرية ولم يكن له فى نفوسهم موقع ولا كان له قدر عند كهنة الاسكندرية ، وكان كل واحد يستخدمه فيما يعن له ، لكن الله صانع العجايب وحده الذى اصطفا داوود من مرعى الغنم ليرعى

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(١) حاشيه بالمداد الاحمر على هامش م ، وبالمداد الاحمر والاسود كاملة على هامش ا ١٤٥ (ظ) كالآتى : «جلس هذا الاب المجاهد القوى الغالب [بالمسيح] فى مملكة الحاكم وقاسا شدايد عظيمة [وبصلواته] خلص شعبه وغلب ، وجميع ذلك مشروح فى هذه [السيرة] .

(٢) قلوب مكروه (٣) ا : ميخاييل (٤) ا ١٤٥ «ظ» : زخريا

اسرايييل ميراثه ، الذى يرفع الفقير من الارض والمسكين من المزبلة ويجلسه على كرسى
المجد هو الذى اصطفا هذا الانسان المتواضع الغير معدود ، وذلك انه صعد يوما الى
علو البيعة لينزل بجرة خل للطباخ الذى يعمل ما ياكلوه الاساقفة ، وفيما هو نازل من
السلم زلق وقع والجرة معه لم تنكسر ولا انهرق منها شيا ، فقالوا الاساقفة وجميع
الحاضرين لما ابصروا هذه الاعجوبة هذا هو الذى يستحق هذا الامر الذى نحن مجتمعين
بسببه ، فعند ذلك قال جميعهم بفرح من فم واحد هذا بالحقيقة رجل الله ثم سالوا
عنه اهل الاسكندرية وعن طريقته فقالوا كلهم ما سمعنا عنه قط كلمة سو بل هو فقير
بايس وهو طاهر ، فقالوا حسن وجيد ان يقدم هذا الذى هو هكذى اجود ممن يجينا
بيد قوية وامر سلطانى ويكون زماننا كله عنده كالعبيد ، فاتفقوا مع الاسكندرانيين
على قسمته واخذوه واقسموه بطركا وفى عشية ذلك اليوم الذى قسموه فيه وصل ابرهيم ابن
بشر بالسجل والاستاذين صحبته ، فلما صار فى ظاهر المدينة اجتمع به احد معارفه وقال له
قد قسم بطرك ، فقال له ومن هو ، فقال زخاريا[١] القس الذى فى كنيسة ميكاييل[٢]
النوبه ، فلما سمع ذلك لحقته رعدة عظيمة فى عظامه ولم تفارقه بقية ايام حياته ، ومضى
الى بيته بكرب عظيم من شدة الرعدة واعتل لذلك ، وبلغ الخبر الى الاساقفة فتعجبوا ،
ثم انهم خافوا من السلطان وقالوا ما ندرى ما يجرى علينا فاشاروا على الاب البطرك انبا
زخارياس ان يطيب قلبه بالاسقفية ليامنوا غضب السلطان بسببه ، وقالوا لابرهيم ابن
بشر هذا امر قد كان من الله سبحنه والان فاول كرسى[٣] ان يخلوا من اسقفه فى هذا
الاقليم وتعلم انه يصلح لك تصير عليه اسقفا ، ثم قسموه اغومنس والبسوه السواد ، فلما
خلا كرسى منوف العليا جعلوه عليه ، واقام انبا زخارياس بعد بطركيته سبع سنين
والبيعة هاديه تحت السلامة . ومن بعد ذلك لم يصبر الرب على افعال الرعاة* الذين ١٤٨ (ج)
كانوا فى ذلك الزمان وانزل الله غضبه على البيع بسببهم فابعدوا منها لانهم كانوا قد

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(١) ا ١٤٥ (ظ) : زخريا. (٢) ا : ميخاييل (٣) كرسى] ساقطه من ا

صاروا مثل الولاة المسلطين على الكهنة ويختلقوا حجج لجمع المال بكل وجه ويتجروا فى بيعة الله لمحبة الفضة والذهب ويبيعوا موهبة الله بالمال فيخسروا ولا يربحوا واذا زادهم انسان فى ديارية بيعة من البيع دينار واحد فسخوا على القيم الاول المهتم بامور البيعة كما يجب ، فيطردوه منها ويسلموها بسبب الدينار الزايد لمن لا يصلح لخدمتها ولا يقوم بامورها ، ولقد شهد على قيم انه يشرب الخمر الصافى ويخلط المعكر بالما ويصفيه ويقدمه للكهنة يرفعه للهيكل وان الكهنة يرفعوا على الهيكل قربانا يكفى طول الجمعة حتى يفضل منه شيا كثير غرضا فى ان لا يتعبوا فيقدسوا ويبقا القربان فى الكنايس الى ان يعفن لان الاساقفة كانوا يوسموا للكهنوت من لا يصلح ولا يفهم . وحدثنى انسان مامون ان انبا مينا اسقف طانة الذى قد كنا بدينا بذكره فى هذه السيرة وقلنا ان فيلاتاوس البطرك سكن فى داره بدمروا بعد موته كان عند وفاته اقسم ما جمعه من المال على اربعة اجزا ودفنه فى اربع مواضع ، وكان له فى الكرسى عدة سنين حتى شاخ ، وكان له اخ اسمه مقاره اسقف منوف العليا كاتب السنودس فانفذ الى اخيه رسول ياتى اليه بسرعة ، وكان مترقب وصوله وعينه ناظرة الى الطريق ، فتاخر عنه يومين لم ياتيه وكتب اربع رقاع وذكر فيها الاربع مواضع التى فيها المال وجعلها فى يده الى ساعة وصول اخيه اليه يدفعها له ، فلما تاخر عنه ولحقه قلق الموت والنزاع قال لتلميذه انظر لعل اخى قد وصل ، فخرج التلميذ وعاد اليه وقال له لم يصل ، فقلق ورمى احد الرقاع الاربعة فى فمه ومضغها ورماها ثم قال للتلميذ اترى جا اخى ، فخرج ايضا وعاد وقال له ما وصل فمضغ الرقعة الثانية ورماها ، وكذلك فعل بالثالثة وبقى فى يده واحدة ، فقال للتلميذ انظر ان كان اخى وصل فخرج ليبصره فابطى عليه وحس بصعوبة الم الموت فرمى الرقعة الرابعة فى فمه ومن قبل ان يمضغها دخل اليه التلميذ مسرعا وقال له هو ذا اخوك قد وصل ، فاخرج الرقعة من فمه فلما دخل اخوه دفعها له وقال له الرب لا يواخذك ويغفر لك فقد ضيعت ما ثبت فى ثلثة رقاع اخرى لاجل غيبتك عنى ، ولما قال هذا خرجت روحه فكفنه ودفنه ثم قرى الرقعة فوجد فى المكان

عشرة الف دينار ، وكان مقاره اخوه رجلا جيد فاخذ المال وبنا به اسكنا على اسم
ابو مقار بوادى هبيب وهو الهيكل الحسن قبلى هيكل بنيامين فانفق عليه ثلثة الف
دينار وصدق بجملة كبيرة وبنا بيع كثير فى ريف مصر ، ولما حضرت وفاته سالوه ان
كان معه شى يوصى به بما يفعلوه فيه ، فقال الرب شاهد على اننى وجدت لاخى
عشرة الف دينار وتحصل لى فى الكرسى وفيما اخذته فى كتابة السنودس فى كل سنة
شيا كثير وقد انفقت جميع ذلك والرب يشهد على اننى لم يبق معى غير دينار واحد
ورباعى وهو ذا انا منتقل من هذا العالم وانا اقسم عليكم ان تدفعوه للكهنة الذين
يقرون على . وهذا الاسقف مينا الذى خلف هذا المال الكثير لم يقنعه ذلك حتى انه
اعمر كوم بين كرسيه وكرسى سمنود وصار فيه عشرة بيوت مسكونة ، فبنوا هناك
كنيسة صغيرة طولها خمسة اذرع او ستة طوب طين ، وكان الكوم بين بشيش[1]
وشبرادمانه ، فلما سمع اسقف سمنود اتا لها وبنا فيها مذبح لطيف وكرزه ومضى لان
شبرادمانه له وهى من حقوق كرسيه ، فلما سمع انبا مينا الاسقف المقدم ذكره بذلك
جا الى الكنيسة* المذكورة وهدم المذبح الذى بناه اسقف سمنود وبنا غيره ، فلما سمع ١٤٨ (ظ)
اسقف سمنود بذلك صعب عليه جدا وجا الى هناك ومعه جماعة وانبا مينا الاسقف
هناك فاجتمعوا وتخاصموا ووقع بينهم قتال ولم يفترقوا حتى سفكت بينهم الدما ، فانظروا
الان الى ذلك الاسقف الذى جمع المال الكثير كيف قاتل على شى هذا مقداره حتى
انزل الله غضبه على ذلك الكوم واخربها الى الان ، واسم الكوم سندجرا وفى ايامهم اعنى
الرعاة انقطع التعليم ايضا ولم يردع احدا احد ولا يقول له اخرج القذا من عينيك
ليلا يقول له اخرج انت الخشبة اولا من عينك ، وكانوا رووسا البيعة فيما تقدم
يطلبوا امر فيه علم ومعرفة ليجعلوه كاهنا اذا شهد له جماعة ثقات بالعفاف والعلم من
صغره ، وانقلبت الامور وصار الفهيم العالم غير معدود لا سيما ان كان فقيرا والجاهل

(١) بشيش] ا ١٤٦ (ج) بشبيش والغالب أن هذا هو الصواب .

الغير فهيم مكرما عندهم مبجلا لا سيما ان كان موسرا ليقدموه للطقس العالى من طقوس الكهنة فمنجل[1] ذلك نزلت يد الرب عليهم وحل غضبه على البيعه لعلمه باننا لا نستحق ندخل من بابها كالزمان الذى انزل فيه غضبه على يروشليم[2] حتى خربت وسبى اهلها وبنيهم وبناتهم . وكان راهبا اسمه يونس قس فى اسكنا ابو مقار ساكن فى بيعة القديس ابو نفر فى الاسكنا الذى هو بحرى بيعة ابو مقار فراى جماعة يشتروا الاسقفية بالمال فالتى الشيطان فى قلبه نار محبة الاسقفية ولم يكن معه شيا يدفعه عنها فحضر عند انبا زخارياس البطرك وقال اريد تلبسنى ثياب الاسقفية فقط واجعلنى على كرسى خراب مثل دبقوا ولو انه لا يكون فيه الا ثلث منا فانى لا اقدر اصبر عن ذلك مما قد غلب على مّن الفكر لمشاهدتى هولا الذى تقسمهم بالمال وليس هم مستحقين وانا مدحوض لاجل انى فقير وليس معى شيا وانت تعرفنى ، وكان البطرك المذكور عفيف جدا مثل الخروف الوديع ولم يكن يفعل شيا مما ذكرناه برايه حتى الخبز الذى ياكله اذا خلوه لا يطعموه لا يطلبه وكذلك الما الذى يشربه ، وكان كالاخرس وكانوا اهله وتلاميذه حاكمين عليه وهم يدبرونه وهم الذين ياخذون المال ممن يقدموه له ليجعله فيما يريدوا ، ولو اراد ان يطعم انسان خبز فما قدر الا باحسانهم ، واذا التمس منه انسان شيا ارسله اليهم ، ومن التمس منه كهنوة انفذه اليهم ليفصلوا معه والا فما يمكنوه يقسمه ، فلما اتاه هذا الراهب الذى ذكرناه انفذه اليهم كالعادة ، فمضى اليهم وخاطبهم مثلما خاطب البطرك فشتمه احدهم وهو خايال اسقف سخا وهو ابن اخو البطرك لما علم منه انه يريد الاسقفية بلا شى وقال له بعد الشتم انك ان ذكرت من فمك شى على هذه القضية جعلت التلاميذ يهينوك ، فاستحكم فيه الغضب ونهض ومضى الى مصر وشكى حاله للسلطان وكتب عدة رقاع فى البطرك ليرفع للملك الحاكم بامر الله ، فلما علموا الاراخنة بمصر بذلك منعوه ان يفعله وكتبوا له كتب الى البطرك وكان يوميذا بوادى هبيب ، فلما

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[1] فمنجل : فمن اجل [2] يروشليم] ا ١٤٦ (ظ) : ايروشليم

وصلت اليه الكتب دفعها لابن اخيه المقدم ذكره ، فلما وقف عليها فغمز على الراهب واحضر العرب الذى هم خفرا الديارة وسلم الراهب اليهم فاخذوه ورموه فى بير ورجموه بالحجارة ليقتلوه ، فوجد فى البير موضع خرق فدخل فيه واختفى ولم يلحقه ولا حجر واحد ، فلما سمع البطرك الخبر حمل التراب على راسه ونتف شعر لحيته واحرم ابن اخيه على ما فعله بالراهب وانفذ تلاميذه الى البير فاصعدوه منه وعزوه وسالوه ان يتسلى ، واوعده البطرك ان يجعله اسقف على كرسى مما يخلوا فصبر حتى خلى كرسيين فلم يجعله فى واحد منهما* بل كان اهله وتلاميذه يخاطبوه بما يوجع قلبه فحينيذ امتلا حنقا بمنعهم له من الاسقفية الذى دخل فى قلبه محبتها ، وهذا هو اول وجع لحق الشيطان اعنى الكبريا لانه مكتوب اذا حبلت الشهوة ولدت الخطية واذا نمت[1] الخطية ولدت الموت ، فمضى يونس الراهب الى مصر ليشتكى ومن ها هنا نقطع الكلام لان فيما فعله الى ان نذكره فى موضعه . ١٤٩ (ج)

فاما الملك الذى ذكرناه انفا وانه تقلد امر المملكة وهو صبى صغير جدا وانه نشا وكبر وصار كالاسد يزير[2] ويطلب فريسة وصار محب لسفك الدما اكثر من الاسد الضارى حتى ان جماعة احصوا من قتل بامره فكان عدتهم ثمنية عشر الف انسان ، اول ما ابتدى قتل اكابر دولته وكتابه ، وقطع ايادى قوما ، واول من قتل الاستاذ برجوان الذى رباه لانه كان يسميه فى صغره الوزغة فانفذ اليه استاذ من يديه وقال له قول له الوزغة الصغيرة قد صار تنينا عظيما وهو يدعوك ، فمضى اليه الاستاذ وقال له ما امره به فجا اليه وهو يرتعد فامر به فقطعت راسه ، وكذلك امير كبير يسما القايد فضل كان بينه وبينه جميل عظيم فدخل يوما الى القصر كعادته فوجد الملك المذكور جالسا وبين يديه صبى مليح قد ابتاعه بماية دينار فى يده سكين وقد ذبحه بها وقد اخرج كبده

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[1] كذا فى الأصل . وصوابه «نمت» حسب نص الرسول يعقوب ١ : ١٥ «والشهوة اذا حبلت نسلت الخطية والخطية اذا كملت (ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) تلد الموت» (النص حسب النسخ القبطيه)

[2] يزير : يزأر

ومصارينه وهو يقطعهم ، فخرج وهو خايف مرتعدا الى منزله واعلم اهله وكتب وصيته ، وبعد ساعة انفذ اليه من قطع راسه . وكان اذا اراد ان يقتل انسان انعم عليه بالمال والخلع ، وبعد هذا ينفذ من يقطع راسه وياتيه بها ، ولم يزل يفعل هذا حتى افنا خواصه ومقدمى جيشه ، ثم عاد الاراخنة والكتاب فاخذ منهم عشرة من مقدميهم ابو نجاح الكبير وكان نصرانيا ارتدكسيا فاحضره اليه وقال له اريد ان تخلا عن دينك وتعود الى دينى واجعلك وزيرى وتدبر امور مملكتى ، فقال له امهلنى الى اغدا[1] حتى اشاور روحى ، فامهله وخلاه فمضى الى منزله واحضر اصدقاه وعرفهم ما جرى له معه ، وقال لهم انا مستعد ان اموت على اسم السيد المسيح وما كان غرضى فى امهالى الى غدا مشورة روحى وانما قلت هذا حتى اجتمع بكم وباهلى واودعكم واودعهم واوصيكم واوصيهم ، والان يا اخوتى لا تطلبوا هذا المجد الفانى فتضيعوا مجد السيد المسيح الدايم الباقى فقد اشبع نفوسنا من خيرات الارض وهوذا برحمته قد دعانا الى ملكوت السموات فقووا قلوبكم ، وانه قوى قلوبهم اجمعين بكلامه وثبتهم على ان يموتوا على اسم السيد المسيح وصنع لهم فى ذلك اليوم وليمة عظيمة واقاموا عنده الى عشية ومضوا الى منازلهم ، فلما كان بالغداة مضى الى الحاكم بامر الله ، فقال له يا نجاح خبرنى[2] هل طابت نفسك قال له نعم ، قال على اى قضية قال بقاى على دينى ، فاجتهد الحاكم بكل نوع من الترغيب والترهيب ان ينقله عن دينه فلم يفعل ولم يقدر يميل نيته عن مذهبه ، فامر ان تنزع ثيابه عنه وان يشد فى الهنبازين ويضرب فضربوه خمس ماية سوط على ذلك الجسم الناعم حتى تقطع لحمه وسال دمه مثل الما ، وكانت السياط من عروق البقر ما يحتمل الجبار منها سوط لا سيما ذلك الرجل الترف المنعم ، ثم امر بان[3] يضرب تمام الالف سوط فلما ضرب ثلثماية اخرى قال انا عطشان فبطلوا عنه الضرب واعلموا

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(١) كذا فى الأصل والمقصود «غد» (٢) نقلا عن ا ١٤٧ (ج) : وهو الصواب ، وفى م «حىرى» غير منقوطه (٣) بان] ا : ان

الحاكم بذلك ، فقال اسقوه بعد ان تقولوا له يرجع لديننا ، فلما جاو[1] اليه بالما
وقالوا له ما امرهم به الملك ، قال لهم عيدوا له ماه فانى غير محتاج اليه لان سيدى
يسوع المسيح قد اسقانى ، وشهد قوم من الاعوان وغيرهم ممن كان هناك انهم ابصروا
الما سقط من لحيته ولما قال* هذا اسلم نفسه[2] فاعلموا الملك القاسى القلب بوفاته فامر ١٤٩ (ظ)
ان يضرب تمام الالف سوط وهو ميت وهكذى تمت ، شهادته بركاته تكون معنا ،
ومنهم اخر يعرف بالريس فهد ابن ابرهيم وكان قدمه على جميع الكتاب واصحاب
الدواوين فاحضره بين يديه وقال له انت تعلم اننى اصطفيتك وقدمتك على كلمن فى
دولتى فاسمع منى وكن معى فى دينى فارفعك اكثر مما انت فيه وتكون لى مثل اخ ،
فلم يجيب الى قوله ، فامر بضرب عنقه واحرق جسده بالنار ، فاقام النار توقد ثلاثة
ايام عليه ولم يحترق وبقيت يده اليمنى كان النار لم تدن منها البته ، وكانت هذه اية من
الله سبحنه لانه كان رجل دين فيه رحمة عظيمة ولم يرد قط من يطلب منه شى حتى
انه كان يجتاز فى الشوارع راكبا فيلقاه من يطلب منه الصدقة فيمد يده الى كمه ويظن
ان ليس فيه شى فيجد ما يدفعه للسايل ، ولذلك ظهرت هذه الاية فى يده اليمنى الذى
كان يمدها للصدقة فى كل وقت ، فكان له فى الله افعال جميلة جدا ، رزقنا الله بركة
صلواتهم اجمعين . فاما بقية هولاى العشرة قضاة المقدمين[3] لما طالبهم بترك دينهم والانتقال
عنه فلم يفعلوا ذلك ولا طاعوه فامر بعذابهم فضربوا بالسياط ، فلما تزايد عليهم الضرب
اسلم منهم اربعة ، اما احد هولا الاربعة فانه مات فى ليلته بعينها ، واما الثلثة الاخر
فانه الى انقضا زمان الهيج اعادوا الى مذهب النصرانية . واما بقية العشرة ماتوا تحت
العذاب ونالوا الحياة الدايمة . وفعل هذا الملك افعال لم يسمع بان احد من الملوك
الذى قبله فعل مثلها ، ولم يثبت على راى واحد ولا اعتقاد واحد ، وكان منظره مثل
الاسد وعيناه واسعة شهل ، واذا نظر الى انسان يرتعد منه لعظم هيبته ، وكان صوته

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(١) جاو = جاءوا (٢) مقطوعة بالأصل فى م ، ومذكورة فى ا ١٤٧ (ظ)
(٣) قضاة المقدمين] مقطوعة على هامش م وواردة فى ا ١٤٧ (ظ)

جهر مخوف ، وكان ينظر الى النجوم والحكمه البرانية وكان يخدم النجم المسمى زحل على زعمه ويداوم التطواف فى الجبل الشرقى بمصر ليلا ومعه ثلثة من الركابية ويتشبه له الشيطان بشبه ذلك النجم فيخاطبه بامور كثير ويذبح له قرابين وترك لباس الملوك لاجل هذا ولبس ثوب صوف اسود وربا شعره حتى نزل على اكتافه وترك ركوب العماريات والخيل السبق المسومه والبغال المطرقة وركب حمار اسود ، وكان يمشى وحده فى كل موضع وربما اخذ معه فرد ركابى ، وكان يمشى بالليل فى الشوارع ايضا ويتسمع على الناس فى بيوتهم ما يقولوه عنه ، وكان له جواسيس كثير ومخبرين يطوفون ليلا ونهارا[1] ويرفعون له الاخبار ولا يخفى عنه شيا مما يجرى فى بلاد مصر جميعها ويظنوا الناس ان قوة الله حالة عليه لاجل الملك الذى فوضه اليه ، وكان له انسان يسمى الهادى ومعه اثنى عشر رجلا يتتلمذون له ويدعون الناس اليه ويسمعون ، وكان يقول للذين يجتمعون اليه ان الحاكم هو المسيح واقوال كثير لا يجوز ذكرها ، وكان الحاكم يخرج فى اوقات كثيرة من قصره فى الليل محمول فى محفة على اكتاف اربعة من الفراشين . وامر ان لا تخرج امراة من بيتها بالجملة لا الى حمام ولا الى غيرها[2] واذا ظفر بامراة قد خرجت فى ليل ام نهار سلمها لمتولى الشرطة ادبها ادبا يقضى بهلاكها ، وامر بان لا توكل ملوخية ، وكان يطاع فى الظاهر لا فى الباطن ، وامر بان[3] لا يشرب احد النبيذ وكتب بذلك سجلات الى ساير البلاد وكسرت الاوعية التى فيها النبيذ فى كل مكان ، ثم انه اجتاز يوما قفز قدامه كلب بجفل الحمار الذى تحته فامر بقتل كل كلب فى مصر وذكر ان كلب صاح خارج المدينة صيحة عظيمة فاجتمع اليه كلاب كثير وصعدوا الى الجبل الشرقى ومضوا ، وامر ايضا بقتل الخنازير الذى فى كورة مصر* ، ١٥٠ (ج) فقتلوهم جميعهم ، وكان فيها خنازير كثير لا سيما فى البشمور ، ثم امر ان لا يضرب ناقوس فى بلاد مصر ، وبعد قليل امر بان تقلع الصلبان الذى على قبب الكنايس وان تمحى

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[1] ليلا ونهارا] ا : ليل ونهار [2] غيرها] ا ١٤٧ (ظ) : غيره [3] بان] ا : ان

الصلبان الذى على ايدى الناس ، ثم امر ان تشد النصارى الزنار فى اوساطهم ويلبسوا على رووسهم عمايم سود ويركبوا بركب[١] خشب ولا يركب احد منهم بركب[١] حديد وان يحملوا صلبان طول شبر ، ورجع عمله ذراع ونصف ، وان يصبغ اليهود اطراف عمايمهم ويلبسوا الزنانير ويعملوا كبة خشب شبه راس العجل الذى عبدوه فى البرية ، ولا يدخل احد من الدمة[٢] حمام مع المسلمين ، وافرد لهم حمامات ، وجعل على[٣] باب حمام النصارى صليب خشب ، وعلى باب حمام اليهود قرمة خشب ، ثم امر ان يحرق الزبيب فاحصى ما احرق منه فى مصر واعمالها والشام فكان ستماية الف ساطره ، وكذلك الذى ظفر به بمصر ، والعسل كسره وطرحه فى البحر ، وان احد التجار خسر جملة مال ثمن عسل وزبيب وانه حاكم مولانا الحاكم عند قاضى القضاة ابن النعمان وقال له انه وصل الى مصر ببضاعته وهى زبيب وعسل للاكل وعمل الحلاوة وانه اكسر وحرق ورما[٤] البحر فساوهما[٥] القاضى فى الجلوس والمحاكمة فالتمس التاجر من الحاكم ماله وقيمة ثمن بضاعته الف دينار ، فقال له الحاكم انت جلبت هذه البضاعة لعمل المنكر والا فاحلف انك جلبتها لعمل الحلاوة والاكل وخذ ثمنها ، فالتمس التاجر احضار المال قبل ان يحلف فامر الحاكم باحضار المال ، فحلف التاجر وتسلم ماله وكتب عليه انه قبضه واستوفاه والتمس ان يكتب له سجل برعايته وحفظه ففعل له ذلك ، فلما انفصل الحكم فيما بينهما[٦] وقف القاضى بين يدى الحاكم وحياه تحية الخلافة فازداد القاضى عنده جلالة وحمل اليه كرامات عظيمة ، وكان يمشى فى الليل فيجد فى بعض الاوقات الشوايين يحموا التنانير ليشووا فيها فيرمى بعضهم فى التنانير فيحترقوا ، ووجد فى بعض الليالى انسان يقلى لحم فى طاجن فامر بان تقطع يديه وترمى فى الطاجن ، فقال له ذلك الرجل متى تعلم امير المومنين القلى فانما كنا نعرفه شوا متى صار قلا فضحك منه وامر بتخليته ،

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(١) بركب = بركاب (٢) الدمه = [أهل] الذمة (٣) على] ساقطه من م ، وارده فى ا
(٤) ورما] ا ١٤٨ (ظ) : ورمى (٥) فساوهما = فساواهما (٦) بينهما] ا ١٤٨ (ج) : بينهم

واحضر اليه دفعة انسان صدر فضة خطفه فى السوق من يد صاحبه ، فلما اوقفوه بين يديه والصدر الفضة معه فى يده قال له اريد ان تجرى قدامى وتورينى كيف جريت لما خطفته من يد صاحبه ، ففعل ذلك ومضى يجرى ولم يجسر احد يتبعه . واجتاز بعض الاوقات بشون فيها قرط وحطب وبوص فامر باحراقها فاحرقت وهو راكب ينظر اشتعال النار فيها الى ان احترقت جميعها وضاعت اثمانها على اربابها ، ولقيه فى بعض الليالى عشرة رجال مستعدين بالسلاح فسالوه ان يعطيهم مال فقال لهم اقتسموا فرقين وتحاربوا قدامى فمن غلب دفعت له المال لانه يستحق ان ياخذ الكرامة ففعلوا ذلك وتحاربوا حتى مات منهم تسعة وبقى واحد فقال له قد استحقيت الان ان تاخذ الكرامة ورما له دنانير كثير من كمه فتطاطا لياخذها من الارض فاوما الى ركابية كانوا معه فوثبوا عليه وقتلوه وجمعوا تلك الدنانير فعادها الى كمه . وعمل له فى قصره بحر مرخم يستقا له الما بالساقية ويجرى اليه بقناة وعلى خارج البحر حصير رخام وجعل عليه ساير الاطيار وامر بان يجعل فى الحايط سهم خشب رقيق بارز ويكون طرفه خارج منها الى البحر الرخام معتدل مع حافته وهو* عال جدا فى اعلا الحايط كما حكى من شاهده ثم امر منادى ينادى ان من مشى على هذا السهم وقفز فى البحر ووقع فى الما دفع له ستماية درهم ، واطمع جماعة بذلك فمن محبة الدرهم مشى عليه جماعة من الناس وقفزوا فوقعوا على البلاط فماتوا . ثم امر ان تكون صلبان النصارى الخشب وزن كل صليب خمسة ارطال مصرى مختوم بخاتم رصاص عليه اسم الملك ويعلقوه فى رقابهم بحبال ليف ، وكذلك اليهود تكون عيار الكبه التى فى رقابهم خمسة ارطال ومن يوجد منهم بغير ختم يهون به ويغرم الجنايه فجحد[1] كثير من النصارى واليهود من روسايهم وادناهم لاجل هذا ولم يصبروا على هذا الهوان والعذاب ، وذكر ان النسا المصريات لما منعهم الحاكم الخروج بالنهار عملوا مثالات نسا من قراطيس وخبز بجل[2] (كذا) واوقفوهم له فى طريقه التى

١٥٠ (ظ)

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(١) فجحد] ا ١٤٨ (ظ) فخجز (٢) خبز بجل] كذا فى الأصل بكل من : «م» و «ا»

يسلكها خارج مصر فى ايديهم رقاع مكتوبة يشتموه فيها ويسبون اخته وكان يامر باخذ الرقاع منهم فيقراها فيجدها على هذه القضية ، هذا فعلوه عدة دفعات ولاجل ذلك امر باحراق مصر ونهبها ، ولم يكون يتنعم مثل الملوك لكنه كان سايح فى الجبال والبرارى ليلا ونهارا ، وسفك فى ايامه دما كثير .

ونعود الان الى تمام ما فعله يونس الراهب المقدم ذكره من القبايح فى ايام هذا الملك ، وذاك انه لما تحقق انه لا يوسم اسقفا مضى الى مصر وكتب رقعة وذكر فيها البطرك بكل سو وخرج الى الجبل ووقف للحاكم وقال له انت خليفة الله فى ارضه فعينى لوجه الله وناوله الرقعة فاخذها منه وكان فيها مكتوب انت ملك الارض لكن للنصارى ملك لا يرضا[1] بك لكثرة ما قد كنز من الاموال الجزيلة لانه يبيع الاسقفية بالمال ولا يفعل ما يرضى الله تعالى وذكره فى الرقعة بقبايح كثيرة مثل هذا فلما وقف الحاكم على الرقعة امر بان تغلق ابواب البيع واحضار البطرك ، وكان قد شاخ وطعن فى السن فلما حضر اعتقله ثلثة شهور وكان اعتقاله فى اليوم الثانى عشر من هتور سنة سبع وعشرين وسبعماية للشهدا ، ثم امر بان يطرح للسباع تاكله فلما رمى لها نقل الله طبعها له وحماه منها ومنعها منه وضبطها عنه فلم تاكله ، فنقم الحاكم على سايسها وقال له انت تبرطلت من النصارى واطعمت السباع كثير واشبعتها ولم تجوعها ، وامر بان تجوع السباع ثانية فاذا اشتد جوعها تذبح شاه ويعرا[2] البطرك ثيابه ويلطخ جسمه بدمها وتطلق السباع عليه ، ففعلوا به ذلك فلم توذيه بالجملة ، وكان يونس الراهب المذكور يمضى فى اكثر اوقاته الى البطرك وهو فى الاعتقال على سبيل الشماتة به ، وكان ثانى يوم اعتقاله

ولا يستقيم بها المعنى ، والغالب أنها خطأ من النساخ ، وربما كانت فى الأصل «جريد نخل» ثم تآكل النقط والحرفان الأخيران من الكلمة الأولى فقرأها الناسخ على الوجه الموجود فى النص ، والمقصود اقامة جريد النخل واحاطته بقراطيس الورق على النحو المعروف فى قرى مصر الآن وهو «خيال المقات» لطرد الطيور ومنعها من العبث بالفاكهة

[1] يرضا] ا ١٤٨ ظ : يعنا . [2] ويعرا] ا : ويعرى

قد امر الحاكم بكتب سجل الى والى بيت المقدس بان تهدم القيامة ، فكتب الكاتب الى الوالى كتاب هذه نسخته «خرج امر الامامة اليك بهدم قمامة ، فاجعل سماءها ارضا وطولها عرضا» وكان كاتب السجل نصرانى نسطورى يعرف بابن شيرين ، فلما انفذ السجل الذى كتبه صار المذكور مثل السكران الذى صحا من سكره وفكر فى نفسه فيما قد فعله ، وقال كتبت بيدى بان تهدم القيامة فلماذا لم اصبر على الموت قبل ان افعل هذا ، ولماذا لم اصبر على قطع يدى اليمنى ولا اكتب بذلك ، فلو امتنعت من كتبه ما الذى كان يفعله بى اكثر من ضرب العنق وما كنت اريد شهادة اعظم من هذه ، وكان يقول هذا ومثله ويردد هذا على قلبه ليلا ونهارا فمن شدة حزنه اعتل ولزم فراش المرض ، ويقول يا يدى اليمنى كيف جسرتى وفعلتى هذا الامر الفضيع[1] انا ايضا افعل* بك ما تستحقيه ١٥١ (ج) ولا ازال اعذبك ، وجعل يرفع يده ويضرب بها الارض ولم يزل كذلك طول ايام علته حتى تقطعت اصابعه ومات . ومن بعد ايام انفذ الحاكم سجلات الى ساير اعمال مملكته بان تهدم البيع وان يحمل ما فيها من الانية الذهب والفضة الى قصره وان يطالب الاساقفة فى كل الاماكن وان لا يبايعوا النصارى ولا يشاروا فى موضع من المواضع ، فجحد جماعة منهم اديانهم لاجل هذا واكثر النصارى المصريين نزعوا عنهم الغيار والصليب والزنار والركب الخشب وتشبهوا بالمسلمين فلم يكشف احد عليهم ويظن من يراهم انهم قد اسلموا ، وكان اشماس[2] اسمه بقيره فترك الخدمة فى الديوان الذى كان له وحمل صليبه ومضى الى القصر وصاح على بابه المسيح ابن الله ، فلما سمع الحاكم صوته امر باحضاره واجتهد به ان ينكر دينه ويعترف بالاسلام فلم يفعل ، وكان كالصخرة القوية التى لا تضطرب وكان كلما خاطبه زاد صياحه وقال المسيح ابن الله فامر ان يطرح فى حلقه طوق وسلسلة حديد ويرمى فى حبس الدم ، وشهد لى انسان ثقة مضى اليه ليفتقده فى الاعتقال لمودة كانت بينه و بينه فوجده على تلك الحال وهو

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[1] الفضيع = الفظيع [2] اشماس] ا ١٤٩ (ج) : شماس

كانه[١] مشدود الى وتد كبير مضروب فى الارض وهو قايم يصلى وبيده دفتر صغير ووجهه الى الشرق يقرى ويصلى مع ثقل ذلك الحديد الذى هو مغلول به ، فلما راه[٢] ابتهج به كانه فى عرس وقال لى هذا الرجل لما افتقدته واردت الانفصال منه قلت له ماذا توصينى لمنزلك واهلك ، قال امضى اليهم وقول لهم انا بقية اليوم عندكم قبل مغيب الشمس فلا تحزنوا ، وكان هذا الانسان الذى حدثنى بهذا مهندس رييس على النشارين اسمه مينا وهو خالى اخو والدتى وبصنعته وجد السبيل الى افتقاد بقيره المذكور وهو الذى ربانى واقسم لى قايلا اننى ما وصلت الى منزلى وقمت متوجه الى منزل بقيره كما قال لى حتى انفذ الحاكم واخرجه من الاعتقال وكتب له سجل بان لا يعترض احد بقيره الرشيدى فى بيع ولا شرى ولا فى امر من الامور ، فلما اخذ السجل نزل الى مصر وطاف على النصارى الخايفين وطمنهم وحلف لهم ان بعد ثلثة ايام يزول عنهم كلما هم فيه من الضر ، وكان يبتاع لهم كلما يحتاجوه من خبز وما وطعام وينفذه اليهم مع غلمانه ففعل هذا ثلثة ايام وفى صباح اليوم الرابع خرج امر الحاكم بان تبايع النصارى ويشاروا كما جرت عادتهم وكتب سجل بانه من اراد من النصارى يمضى الى بلاد الروم او بلاد الحبشة والنوبة وغيرهم لا يمنعهم احدا . وكانوا قبل ذلك ممنوعين منه ، ولما بطل بقيره من الديوان الذى كان فيه افرغ نفسه لافتقاد المحبسين ويحمل ما يحتاجوه اليهم ، ويفتقد حبوس الجوالى ومن وجد[٣] مطلوبا بما لا يقدر عليه ضمنه واخرجه من الاعتقال ، ويمضى الى الرووسا والاغنيا فياخذ منهم ما يقوم به عنمن يضمنه ويخلصه ، وتوكل على السيد المسيح بجهده من كل قلبه ، وكذلك من عرف انه يعوزه القوت من الاخوة المومنين اعطاهم كفافهم فى كل يوم وفعل افعالا جميلة حسنة كثيرة جدا لم نذكرها واقتصرنا على اليسير منها . ومن اول ما جرى هذا الامر فى تلك الايام لم يفطر فيها نهارا والايام التى يتقرب فيها لا يفطر فيها الى الليل ، وهذا كله عرفته منه

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[١] كانه] ساقطة من ا [٢] راه] ا : راءه [٣] وجد] ا : وجده

لمودة كانت بينى وبينه ، وفى اكثر الاوقات كنت انام عنده فيحضر لى بعض الكتب اقرا فيها بعض الليل ثم انام يسيراً ، واما هو فيقف الى الصباح فاذا اصبح مضى الى الشغل الذى يختاره لنفسه ، وصار له* مثل صنعة وتصرف ، وكان القمح وجميع الطعام ماسا[١] ، ١٥١ (ظ) فلما كان يوم من الايام اشترى الخبز وفرقه على عادته على المستورين والفقرا[٢] حتى انه[٣] لم يبق عنده الا رغيف واحد يفطر عليه ، فجعله على المايده وصلى وجلس ليفطر[٤] فشكر ومد يده لياكل ، فسمع الباب يدق فقال لغلامه ابصر الباب فخرج الغلام فوجد انسان مستور فقال له قل للشيخ بقيره نسيتنى[٥] اليوم وما عندى ما افطر عليه ، فدخل الغلام اليه واعلمه ما قاله الرجل فدفع له الرغيف وبات طاويا الى الليل ثانى يوم ، وكان ايضا انسانا جليل القدر فى قومه غنيا جدا وافتقر ونفذ ماله حتى لم يبقا له شيا فاحتاج ولم تدعه الحشمة يبذل وجهه[٦] ويتسول لاحد فباع كلما فى بيته حتى لم يبق له الا الثياب التى عليه تستره ولو كان له غيرها يمضى بها الى البيعة لباعها ، فما ادرى كيف علم به بقيره الخادم للسيد يسوع المسيح فاخذ عشرة تلاليس فيها عشرة ارادب قمح انفذها اليه مع غلامه فلم يجده فى ذلك الوقت فى منزله فافرغ القمح فى بيته عند زوجته وقال لها عرفى صاحب البيت وقولى له ان فلان انفذ لك هذه البركة ، ومضى الى صاحبه فعرفه ذلك ، ولما جا الرجل الى منزله ابصر القمح سال زوجته عنه فاعلمته انها بركة انفذها الرب لنا لنعيش بها ، فقال لها من الذى اتى بها ، فقالت له من عند بقيره الرشيدى الكاتب ، فلما سمع ذلك ضاق صدره وقال حى هو الرب اننى اجلس فى منزلى الى ان يقبض الله روحى ولا اخذ صدقة من احد ولا افضح نفسى ، وبدا يبكى ويلطم وجهه ، فقالت له زوجته المومنه قد رزقنا الله قوتنا اليوم فقم الان اغسل وجهك ويديك ورجليك وصلى واسجد للرب واشكر رحمته لك وافطر واذا

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(١) ماسا] ا ١٤٩ (جـ) : ماشا (٢) ا : الفقرا والمستورين (٣) انه] : ساقطة من ا
(٤) ليفطر] ا ١٤٩ (ظ) : يفطر (٥) نسيتنى] ا : نسيتى (٦) وجهه] ا : نفسه

كان بالغداة رد القمح الى صاحبه ، فتسلى بكلامها وطاب قلبه واكل طعامه وتنهد ، فلما نام تلك الليلة راى فى منامه كان[1] السيد المسيح قايم امامه ، فقال له لماذا انت وجع القلب ، فقال له يا سيد كيف لا يوجعنى قلبى وانا من بعد ذاك الغنى والرحمة التى كانت لى ولابائى قد انتهى بى الامر الى هذا الفقر حتى صرت اتصدق ، والاصلح لى ان اموت بالجوع افضل من هذا ، فقال له لا تحزن فان هذا القمح ما هو لاحد بل هو لى وانا انفذته لك على يد وكيلى ، قال له يا سيدى ما جانى لك وكيل بل بقيره الرشيدى انفذه الى ، فقال له الرب كانك[2] ما علمت الى الان ان بقيره وكيلى ؛ فلما سمع هذا استيقظ واعلم زوجته بالمنام وطاب قلبهما بان لا يعيدا القمح بل يعيشان به .

واما انبا زخارياس فانه اقام معتقل ثلثة شهور وهم يخوفوه فى كل يوم بحريق النار والرمى للسباع ان لم يدخل فى دين الاسلام ، ويقولوا له ان اجبت الى ذلك نلت مجدا عظيما ويجعلك الحاكم قاضى القضاة وهو لا يلتفت اليهم ولا يلوى عليهم ، وكان معه فى الاعتقال انسان مسلم شرير فقال له يا شيخ السو ما تسلم حتى يخلوك وتنال منهم الكرامة الكبيرة ، فقال له البطرك اعتمادى على الله الذى له القدرة وهو يعيننى[3] ، فلما تم الخطاب دخل اليه احد الاتراك فضربه على فاه بدبوس فقال له البطرك اما الجسد فلكم عليه السلطان تهلكوه كما تريدوا واما النفس فانها بيد الرب ، وكان رجلا من العرب مقدم القريتين اسمه ماضى ابن مقرب وهو مقدم جماعته ، وكان جليل عند الحاكم وكان قد استقر معه ان يقضى له كل يوم حاجة اى شى كانت ، وكان له صديق نصرانى عامل قد انكسر عليه للديوان ثلثة الف دينار ولم يكن له حال* يقوم بها فاعتقل عند الاب البطرك انبا زخارياس ، فلما بلغ ماضى القرى خبره اتاه ليعلم خبره على الحقيقة وقال لماذا اعتقلوك ، فقال بقى للديوان عندى ثلثة الف دينار وما معى شى اقوم به ، فقال له انا اجعل اليوم حاجتى عند الحاكم خلاصك ، فقال له ذلك الرجل النصرانى الدين

١٥٢ (ج)

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(١) كان = كأنه (٢) كانك = كأنك (٣) وهو يعيننى] ا : ويعيننى

ما اقدر اخرج واخلى هذا الاب الشيخ البطرك ، قال له ماضى ما جريرة هذا البطرك حتى اعتقلوه[١] [فعرفه السبب][٢] نخاف ماضى لا يكون الكلام فى امره شيا لا يوافق السلطان فلا يفرج عنه ، فقال انا ادبر فى امر هذا شى وهو ان اجعل حاجتى عنده اليوم السوال فى اطلاق كلمن فى هذه الخزانة ، فاذا امر بذلك تخلصت انت وهو من جملة المطلقين ، ثم خرج ماضى واجتمع بالحاكم وساله فى الجميع فاطلقهم ، ولما تخلص البطرك ونزل الى مصر فرحوا جماعة النصارى فرحا عظيما واشاروا عليه بان يسير الى البرية الى وادى[٣] هبيب خوفا ان يكون اطلاقه سهو من الحاكم او يكون نسى انه فى ذلك المكان الذى اطلق منه ماضى القرى ، فقبل مشورتهم وسار لوقته الى وادى هبيب فاقام فيه تسع سنين لان البيع التى هناك كانت سالمة من الهد ، وذلك ان الحاكم كان انفذ امير من مصر وصحبته فعلة ومساحى وطور فى المراكب ليهدموا جميع البيع التى فى البريه ، فلما وصلوا الى ترنوط[٤] فقالوا نحن نخاف من العرب الذين فى هذا الجبل لكثرتهم وبهذا ابطل الله موامرتهم ، وبامر ظهر لهم من الله وحفظ جميع كنايس البريه ، وذكر ان الشهيد جرجس[٥] ظهر لهم وردهم وخوفهم حتى عادوا كما هو مكتوب فى رويا يوحنا ابن زبدى ان الامراة التى ولدت الولد الذكر اسكب التنين خلفها[٦] بحر ما فاعطاها الرب النجاة منه الى الموضع الذى قامت فيه ، كذلك البيع التى فى هذا الجبل وجدت راحة كما ان الارض فتحت فاها وابتلعت الما كذلك كان خلاص هذه البيع من الهيج . وفى ذلك الزمان ظفر امير تركى براس الاب البشير مارى مرقص الانجيلى ، فقيل له ان النصارى يدفعوا لك فيها كلما تريده فحمله الى مصر فلما علم بقيره الرشيدى حامل الصليب بذلك اخذ منه الراس بثلثماية دينار ، وحمله الى الاب البطرك وهو يوميذاً

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(١) اعتقلوه] ا ١٤٩ (ظ) : اعتقله (٢) [فعرفه السبب] على هامش م مقطوعة ، وهى كاملة بالنص فى ا ١٥٠ (ج) (٣) الى وادى] ا : بوادى (٤) ترنوط] ا ١٥٠ (ج) بريوط (٥) الشهيد جرجس] ا : الشهيد مارى جرجس (٦) خلفها] ا : خلفا . راجع الرؤيا ص ١٢ ، ٤-٦

بدير ابو مقار ، وكان اكثر الاساقفة مقيم معه هناك لخوفهم من الاهانة والتعب ، وكان
اكثر النصارى ايضا يدخلوا البرية دفعتين فى السنة وهما عيد الغطاس وعيد القيامة
الذى هو الفصح ، وكانوا يشتهوا القربان كما يشتهى الطفل اللبن من ثديى امه ، وكان على
النصارى فى هذه التسع سنين ضيق عظيم وطرد وشتم ولعن من المسلمين ويبصقوا فى
وجوههم وكان اكثر ذلك بمدينة تنيس واعمالها ، واذا جاز نصرانى عليهم يشتموه ويقولوا
له اكسر هذا الصليب وادخل فى الدين الواسع ، وان نسى نصرانى صليبه ومشى بلا
صليب لقى هوان كثير ، واعلمكم بعجوبه[1] اخرى اعلمنى بها ابى الجسدانى وكانت صناعته
بنا[2] وكان فيه دين ومحبة لانى انا البايس ميخاييل كنت طفلا فى زمان هذا الضيق
فاخذنى معه يوما وهو متوجه الى ضيعة يبنى فيها وكنت اتعلم منه صنعة النجارة لانه
كان بنا[2] ونجار فوقف باهتا ودق يد على يد ، فقلت له يا ابى عرفنى ما نالك بجلس
وعيناه تهطل دموعا وقال لى يا ولدى اجلس اسمع ما جرى فان لى ثلثة شهور منذ
خرجت من مصر وانزل الله على سهو وعرقل لسانى لكى لا اعلمكم بذلك الا فى هذه
الساعة فان الله تعالى انار فهمى واطلق لسانى لاذكر ذلك* وهو اننى كنت اعمل بمصر ١٥٢ (ظ)
فلحقنى مرض نخفت ان يشتد بى الوجع وليس عندى من يخدمنى نخرجت امشى قليلا قليلا
الى الساحل فوجدت مركبا منحدر الى المحلة فركبت فيه وكان موقرا (كذا) بالناس وهم فيه
مزدحمين جدا وليس فيه نصرانى الا اسقف وتلميذه فى مقدم المراكب فى فاره[3] خشب
وانا فى وسط الناس مطروح وجع والناس يزاحمونى ويلكمونى ويقولون لى يا كلب
يا مرذول يا نصرانى تنحا عنا ويبصقوا على ويهينونى بكل فن من فنون العذاب
وينسبوا الى ما يفعلوه من القبيح كذبا فلما زاد امرهم على رفعت عينى الى السما وقلت
يا سيدى يسوع المسيح ان لم تظهر لى شى يطيب به قلبى واعلم ان لى فيما نالنى من هولا[3]
اجر والا انكرت دينك ، الرب يشهد على انه لم يفرغ الفكر من قلبى ولا الكلام من

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(١) العجوبة (٢) بنا = بناء (٣) هولا] ا : هولاى

فمى حتى صرت كاننى قد نقلت من هذا العالم وغاب عنى جميعه وكاننى فى عالم اخر وصرت فى موضع عال مضى[١] لا اقدر اصف حسنه وبهجته بلسانى[٢] ولا فى هذا العالم شيا مثله ولا يشبهه ورايت السيد المسيح له المجد فلم افهم حقيقة صفته ولم اقدر اميزه من كثرة النور الذى عليه ، فقال لى لما صرت قليل الامانة هذا هو موضع النصارى الذين يصبرون على التجارب من اجل اسمى فهل طاب قلبك ، فمن شدة الوجع والفرح يا ابنى ميخاييل والبهجة التى رايتها صحت قايلا اشكرك يا رب فقد طاب قلبى فسمعنى كلمن فى المركب اذ قلت هذا وما كنت كاننى فى مركب ، وبعد ذلك قمت من نومى ونظرت المركب والناس وانا بينهم على حالى وغاب عنى ما رايته ، فقال لى الذين فى المركب والك (كذا) ما الذى اصابك انت مجنون بك روح شيطان ، فقلت ما بى روح شيطان لكن الله عارف بما نالنى ، ثم انى رايت ذلك دفعه ثانية كهيته[٣] والسيد المسيح يقول لى هل قوى قلبك ، فصرخت وقلت قولى الاول حتى تعجب كلمن فى المركب ثم رايته ايضا ثالث دفعه فحينيذ قوى قلبى فلما سمعنى الذى فى المركب اقول ذلك القول ثلثة دفعات قال بعضهم لبعض لعله راى مالا[٣] يجوز له ان يقوله لنا لكن نمضى به[٤] فمضوا بى اليه[٥] واعلموه ما كان منى فقبلنى وقوى قلبى ولطف بى قبل ان اقول له ما رايت وما حل بى وكان يكلمنى بالقبطى واوليك المسلمين لا يعرفوا ما يقول لى ، فلما فتحت فاى لاحدثه صرت يشهد الرب على مثل من ربط لسانه ولم اقدر اقول كلمة واحدة مما رايته فضربت له المطانوه[٦] وقلت له اجعلنى فى حل فما اقدر اقول شيا ، ولما وصلت الى البيت اردت ان احدثكم انت اوخوتك فارتبط لسانى ولم ينطق بذكره الا فى هذه الساعة ، فانا امشى معه وقد ذكرت الان هذا العجب لمحبتكم لانه امر من الله وللمومنين بسماعه منفعة وقوة قلب فى الامانه ، ولست اشك فى قول ابى رحمه الله ،

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(١) مضى = مضىء (٢) بلسانى] ساقطة من ا ١٥٠ (ظ) (٣) = كهيئته (٤) لا] ساقطه من ا ١٥٠ (ظ) (٥) اى الى الاسقف (٦) ال التعريف محذوفة من «ا»

وهذه التسع سنين التى كان فيها الادب من الرب منها ثلثة سنين لم يقدر احد يعمل فيها طورون[١] فى بلاد مصر الا فى الديارات فقط ، ولم تصبر المومنين الاخيار على البعد من السراير المقدسة وكانوا يسالوا الولاة ويبرطلوهم بالدنانير الكثير والهدايا حتى يفسحوا لهم ان يتقربوا فى الليل سرا فى الكنايس المهدومة الشاسعة ويبيتوا فيها فى ليالى الاعياد الكبار ليصلوا ويتقربوا فى الليل ، وكانت الكسوه والالات الكنايسية مخبيه[٢] فى بيوتهم وكانت الكتب قد احرقت ، وبعدها بثلثة سنين اخر بدوا يعمروا الكنايس فى البيوت ويكرزونها سرا ويصلون فيها ويتقربون ، وكان صاحب الترتيب يكتب للسلطان الذى هو الحاكم بان النصارى قد بنوا بيع بمصر والريف سرا ويتقربوا فيها* وهو يتغافل عنهم ، وبعد ذلك ١٥٣ (ج) وقف له جماعة من النصارى الذين اسلموا فقال لهم ماذا تريدون[٣] ، قالوا له تعيدنا الى ديننا ، فقال لكل واحد منهم اين زنارك وصليبك وغيارك فاخرجوهم له من تحت ثيابهم فامرهم بلباسهم بين يديه وانفذ مع كل واحد ركابى يكتب له سجل يكون بيده بان لا يعترض ، فعادوا كثير ممن اسلم الى دينهم ، وكان من جملة من اسلم راهب اسمه بمين عاد الى دينه وسال الحاكم ان يمكنه من عمارة دير خارج مصر على اسم شهيد المسيح مارى مرقوريس وهو دير شهران فبناه وسكنه مع اخوة له رهبان ، وكان الحاكم يجى الى عندهم دفعات كثيرة ويقيم هناك وياكل من طعامهم الحقير وكان كلمن له حاجة عند الحاكم يمضى الى بمين الراهب يخاطبه عليها وقت حضوره عنده فيقضيها له ، فلما علم بمين انه قد صار له عنده قولا مقبول اذكره[٤] بحال انبا زخارياس البطرك وساله الاذن فى بنا البيع فوعده بذلك ، فانفذ احضر البطرك من دير ابو مقار واخفاه عنـده فى دير مرقوريس بشهران ، فلما اتاه الحاكم كما جرت العادة اخرج له البطرك فسلم عليه بسلام الملوك وبارك عليه ودعا له ، فقال الحاكم لبمين الراهب من هذا قال هو ابونا البطرك

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(١) ا : ١٥٠ (ظ) ضورون وبين السطور بالقبطية ⲆⲰⲢⲞⲚ (٢) مخبية = مخبأة
(٣) ماذا تريدون] ا : ما تريدوا (٤) اذكره] ا ١٥١ (ج) : ذكره

انفذت احضرته كما امرت فاوما باصبعه اليه وسلم عليه وكان معه جماعة من الاساقفة فقال من هولا[١] فقال له بمين الراهب هولا خلفاه فى البلاد وهم الاساقفة فتامله الحاكم وتعجب منه لانه كان حقيرا فى العين مهابا فى النفس وكان قصير القامة كوسج ذميم الخلقة وراى الاساقفة الذين معه شيوخ ذوى مناظر حسنة وشخوص بهية وقامات تامة فقال لهم هذا مقدمكم كلكم ، قالوا له نعم يا مولانا الرب يثبت ملكك ، فتعجب وقال لهم الى اين ينتهى حكمه ، فقالوا له ينفذ حكمه فى ديار مصر والحبشة والنوبة والخمس مدن الغربية افريقية وغيرها ، فازداد تعجبه وقال كيف يطيعونه هولا كلهم بلا عساكر ولا مال ينفقه فيهم ، قالوا له بصليب واحد تطيعه هذه القبايل كلهم ، قال لهم وايش هو هذا الصليب ، قالوا[٢] له مثال الذى صلب عليه المسيح فمهما اراد منهم كتب اليهم وجعله بين سطور الكتاب موضع علامة الملك ويقول لهم افعلوا كذا وكذا والا عليكم الصليب فيطيعوا قوله ويفعلوا ما يامرهم به بلا عساكر ولا حرب ، فقال بالحقيقة ليس فى العالم دين ثابت مثل دين النصارى هوذا نحن نسفك الدما وننفق الاموال ونخرج الجيوش وما نطاع وهذا الرجل الشيخ الحقير المنظر الذميم الخلقة تطيعه اهل هذه البلاد كلها بكلمة لا غير ، ثم قال له وللاساقفة اقيموا هاهنا حتى اقضى لكم خوايجكم ، وخرج من عندهم وهم مسرورين بما سمعوه منه ، ثم ان يونس الراهب الذى كان رفع على البطرك عرف مكانهم فجا اليهم مسرعا كالطير ولما يعلموا به حتى دخل وصار بينهم وقال للبطرك هوذا قد اعاد الرب لك طقسك واريد ان تجعلنى اسقفا ، فقال له البطرك اذا اراد الرب فانا اجعلك ، وكان ابن اخيه الذى هو خاييل اسقف سخا حاضر هناك وهو خصم يونس الراهب فخاطبه ايضا بما اغاضه[٣] حتى طلع فوق سور[٤] الدير وصاح انا بالله وبالحاكم انا مظلوم انا مظلوم خذ لى حقى ، فخافت الاساقفة وجرى بينهم وبين خايل[٥]

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(١) هولا] ا : هولاى (٢) قالوا] ا ١٥١ (ج) : فقالوا (٣) أغاظه (٤) سور] ا ١٥١ (ج) : صور (٥) خايل] ا : خاييل

الاسقف خصومة عظيمة وقالوا له انت سبب هذا البلا كله وكلما نالنا من هدم البيع
ولباس الغيار والهوان وغيره انت اصله وتريد ايضا* تجدد شيا اخر حتى يكون الاخر ١٥٣ (ظ)
اشر من الاول ، ولم يزالوا حتى سكن غضب يونس الراهب والزموا البطرك ان جعله
اغومنس والبسه القلنسوة السودا ووعده بجميل ، ثم ان الملك الحاكم جا اليهم ومعه
سجل عظيم بفتح الكنايس كلها التى فى مملكته وعمارتها وان تعاد اليهم الاخشاب والعمد
والطوب الماخوذ منها والاراضى والبساتين التى كانت لها فى كل كورة مصر . وكان
هدم الكنايس فى سنة سبع ماية سبعة وعشرين للشهدا وفتحت واطلق عمارتها فى سنة
سبع ماية وستة[1] وثلثين للشهدا ، وفى هذا السجل اعفاهم من لباس الغيار وحمل الصليب
وان يضربوا النواقيس فى كل الكنايس بكل موضع كما جرت عادتهم فياله من فرح
كان فى ذلك اليوم لجميع النصارى الذى فى كورة مصر . وفى السنة التى كان فيها الخلاص
واطلاق العماير فى الكنايس ظهر امرا عجيب وذلك ان الحاكم كان يطوف بالجبال التى
بظاهر مصر فى الليل والنهار ومعه ثلثة ركابية او ركاب واحد فلما كان فى ليلة من
الليالى بلغ الى حلوان ومعه ركابى واحد فنزل عن دابته وقال للركابى عرقب هذا الحمار
ففعل ما امر به ، فقال له امضى الى القصر ودعنى انا هاهنا فمضى كما امره ، فلما اصبح اهل
القصر ولم يجدوه فطلب فى كل موضع فلم يوجد ولا عرف له خبر ، وكان له ولد
صغير واخت[2] فضبطت الملك سنتين الى ان كبر ولده الطفل فاجلسوه ملكا واسموه
الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله واسمه الذى يعرف به على وكنيته ابو الحسن فلم يتعرض الى
شيا من اعمال ابيه ، وكان فى ايامه هدو وسلامة عظيمة واقام ستة عشر سنة ملكا ،
وكان دين النصارى مستقيم واهله مكرمين ، وبنيت البيع فى ايامه حتى اعيدت لما كانت
عليه وافضل ، ولم يزل البنا فيها والعمارة متصلة الى السنة التى كتبت فيها هذه السيرة وهى
سنة سبع ماية سبعة وستين للشهدا ، ولم تزل الناس مذ غيبة[3] الحاكم والى انقضى مدة

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(١) ستة] ا : سبعة (٢) واخت] ا ١٥١ (ظ) : وله اخت (٣) مذغيبة] ا : مدعية

ولده يقولون انه بالحياة وكثير كانوا يتزايوا بزيه ويقول كل واحد منهم انا الحاكم يتزايوا
للناس فى الجبال حتى ياخذوا منهم الدنانير ، وكان انسان من شبراكلسا[1] يسما شروط
نصرانى ثم اسلم وتعلم السحر وصار حاذقا به وكان قوم يشهدوا انه كان يمشى معهم ولوقته
يغيب عنهم ، وكان يشبه الحاكم حتى كلامه لكنه اطول منه قليل وسمى نفسه ابو العرب
وتبعه قوم يمشوا معه ويتتلمذوا له وكان ينفذهم الى الاغنيا بكتبه ياخذوا له منهم المال
ويقول لهم انا اعيد لكم العوض عند رجوعى الى مملكتى ، ومن لقيه وقال له انت سيدنا
الملك ضربه وقال له ما تحفظ راسك ، واقام بمصر هكذا عشرين سنة وهو متستر[2]
حتى ظن اكثر الناس بمصر انه الحاكم وانه يخفى نفسه لامر مكتوم لا يعرفه الا هو ولم
يزال كذلك الى ايام معد المستنصر بالله فخرج الى الجيره ونزل عند رجل بدوى من
بنى قره يعرف بفرج ابن تمام فضرب له البدوى خيمة واقام عنده سنتين وهو يتظاهر
بافعال الانبيا كذبا[3] وعليه ثياب زرية كالزهاد ، وكان يدفع للبدوى ثيابا طايلة وسلاحا
حسنا ، فاذا قال له البدوى لماذا لا تلبس من هذا الثياب الفاخرة فيقول له حتى
يجوز عنى القطع الذى اخافه ، وبهذا الكلام كان يدخل عليهم ويلهوا بهم يعنى بفرج
ابن تمام القرى وبجماعته وغيرهم من الناس* وكانوا يدخلوا اليه ويصقعوا له ويسلموا ١٥٤ (ﺟ)
عليه كما يسلم الناس على الملوك الخلفا فنهاهم عن ذلك وتوهم انه يريد كتمان امره الى
الوقت الذى يريد اظهاره فانتشر خبره فى ديار مصر كلها حتى ضجت المملكة واضطربت
نخاف هذا شروط على نفسه وهرب من عند البدوى واختفى فى موضع لم يعرفه احد
واقام مختفى الى ايام الاب انبا شنوده البطرك فكتب اليه وتلاها به حتى انفذ اليه
مالا ، فاما الاب انبا زخارياس البطرك فانه اقام بعد اجتماعه بالحاكم فى هدو وسلامة

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(1) م : شبراكلتا ؛ ا : شبراكلبا ؛ والصواب شبراكلسا ، وردت كذلك فى «كتاب قوانين الدواوين» للاسعد بن مماتى المتوفى سنة ٦٦٠ هـ ، ١٢٠٩ م (نشره عزيز سوريال عطيه بالقاهرة سنة ١٩٤٣) أنظر ص ١٣٥ س ٣ ، ص ١٥٤ س ٧ ، ص ٢١٠ س ١٥ (2) وهو متستر] ا : ومتستر (3) كذبا] ساقطة من ا ١٥١ (ظ)

بقية ايامه وكانت مدة بطركيته ثمنية وعشرين سنة منها قبل زمان الاضطهاد سبع سنين وبعد بنا البيع اثنى عشر سنة وتنيح فى سنة سبع ماية وثمنية واربعين للشهدا ودفن فى كنيسة السيدة ببنى وايل المعروفه بكنيسة الدرج ، ثم هاج على كنيسة السريان الموافقين لنا فى الامانة المستقيمة فى المشرق بلا[١] عظيم حتى ان بطركهم نفى من كرسيه ومات فى النفى وذلك انه كان على كرسى انطاكية السريان اليعاقبة اخوتنا ابا قديس يسمى يوحنا ابن عبدون حتى انه ضاها الابا القديسون الاولين وعمل ماسنذكره ، وذلك[٢] ان ابانا[٣] البطاركة السريان لم يكونوا يتمكنوا من السكن فى مدينة انطاكية منذ زمان الاب ساويرس خوفا من الروم ولا يدنوا بالجملة من اعمالها ، وكان هذا القديس ساكن فى دير قريب ملطيه وكان بداية امره انه كان سايح فى الجبل الاسود وكان حسن السمعة عند كل احد كما هو مكتوب فى الانجيل المقدس ليس تخفى مدينة وهى مبنية على جبل وكان بجواره راهب يتعبد ايضا هناك اسمه يوحنا فلما تنيح اثناسيوس بطرك انطاكيه فى زمان انبا فيلاثاوس بطريرك الاسكندرية[٤] وكانت افعاله مثل افعال سميه اثناسيوس الكبير بالحقيقة وقال عند نياحته ان هذا القديس يوحنا ابن عبدون يجلس بعده على كرسى انطاكيه فلما تنيح طافوا عليه ومن قبل وصولهم بيوم عرف صديقه الراهب الذى كان بجواره ما اظهره له الروح القدس وقال له فى غد يجونا قوم ياخذوا واحد منا يجعلوه بطرك الكرسى فترا[٥] ان نقوم نمضى من هاهنا ليلا يجدونا قال له الراهب يوحنا لماذا نهرب ان كان الرب قد دعا احدنا لهذا[٦] الامر فالى اين نهرب من بين يديه ، قال له ذلك الاب القديس اما انا فما اطيق هذا الامر ولا اصلح له فان كنت انت تقدر عليه فابقا مكانك وامضى انا اختفى الى ان يجوز عنا هذا الغضب الذى

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(١) بلا = بلاء (٢) وذلك] ساقطة من ا (٣) ابانا = آباءنا (٤) الجملة فى ا ١٥٢ (ج) : فلما تنيح اثناسيوس بطرك الاسكندرية (كذا) (٥) فترا] ا ١٥٢ (ج) : فترى
(٦) احدنا لهذا] ا ١٥٢ (ج) باحدنا الى هذا

قد جانا ليخرج احدنا من هذا الانفراد الطوبانى الذى انا اوثره ومضى هاربا من هناك
وبقى يوحنا الراهب موضعه ، فلما كان بالغداة وصل الى الدير من يطلب يوحنا القديس
فطافوا عليه فى الجبل فما وجدوه ، فلما انتهوا الى الموضع الذى ذلك الراهب فيه مقيم
وجدوه لانه كان مشتهى لذلك فاخذوه وفيما هم نازلين من الجبل ماضيين به الى حيث
الجماعة راوا فى طريقهم شجرة فمالوا اليها يستظلوا تحتها فضرب عود من الشجرة عين يوحنا
الراهب[١] فقلعها فصار اعور من ساعته ، فتعجبوا واستعلموا منه قضية حاله فاعترف لهم بما
جرى بينه وبين القديس يوحنا ابن عبدون وانه اشتهى هذا الامر وذاك زهد فيه ،
١٥٤ (ظ) فلما عرفوا صفه الحال تركوه ومضوا الى الجماعة واعلموهم بذلك* فقوى عزمهم على طلب
ذلك القديس اين ما كان ، فلم يزالوا يطوفوا ويجثوا عنه الى ان وجدوه بمشية الله
بعد ان تعبوا ، فامتنع عن المضى معهم فاخذوه غصبا واوسموه بطركا واجلسوه على
الكرسى فلم يتغير فى مدة بطركيته عن تواضعه وعبادته وكانت الاموال تحمل اليه برسم
الصدقات ولا يبقى منها الا قوت يومه ويدفع الباقى للمستورين والفقرا فاتت اليه امراة
ذات يوم ومعها دنانير كثير فى صرة كبيرة فجعلتها عند قدميه وقالت له يا ابى السيد
هذه الدنانير بركة احضرتها فانعم على بقبولها وبارك على واصرفها فى لوازمك وللمستورين ،
فاجابها[٢] بصوت خفى وقال لها الرب يقبل ذلك منك يا ابنتى ، فوقفت منتظرة له ان
يقول لها شيا اخر اكثر من هذا مما يدعوا لها من الدعا والكرامة كما جرت العادة لغيره
ممن يجمع المال ويرغب فيه حتى لو اتاهم انسان بفلس واحد يجلوه ويكرموه لا سيما هذا
المال الكثير ، فلما طال وقوفها ولم تسمع غير ما قال لها فخرجت متقمقمة فعاد التلميذ الذى
خرج ليغلق الباب وقال للبطرك يا ابى هذا مال كثير جاات[٣] به هذه الامراة فما
كانت تستحق ان تدعوا لها دعا كثير وتطيب قلبها حتى مضت وهى متقمقمة علينا وقالت

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[١] الراهب] ساقطة من ا [٢] العبارة «فجعلتها ..... فأجابها» ساقطة من ا [٣] جاات = جاءت

لعل الاب ما علم ما جيت به ، فقال له امضى ردها ، فمضى وردها اليه وقال للتلميذ اتينى بميزان فاحضره له فاخذ قطعة رقعه وكتب فيها الرب يقبلهم منك كمثل ما دعا لها بفمه اولا وجعل الرقعة فى كفة الميزان وجعل المال فى الكفة الاخرى وقال للتلميذ ارفع الميزان فرفعه فرجحت الرقعة اكثر من المال وطلعت الكفة التى فيها المال ونزلت الكفة التى فيها الرقعة الى اسفل ، فقال البطرك للامراة يا ابنتى خذى منهم ما اردتى فالقت نفسها بين يديه وبكت وقالت اغفر لى يا ابى فانك تعتقد ما عند الله وانا اعتقد ما عند الناس ، ثم اخذت تلك الرقعة وجعلتها لها قوة ، وكان ايضا قد خرج الى البحر لبنا[1] قنطرة كانت الناس تعبر عليها فانهدمت فسالوه قوما اخيار ان يقف عليها عند الابتدا فى بناها حتى تنالها بركته فاذا راه الناس هناك اجتمعوا وتساعدوا على بنيانها ، ففعل ذلك واجتمع جمعا كبير واقاموا ثلثة ايام يبنوا فيها ويعملوا بفرح لنظرهم للبطرك ، فلما كملت فى اليوم الثالث تزاحم الجمع فى عبورهم عليها فسقط شاب فى البحر وقد كان عرض ذلك البحر تقدير عشرين ذراعا وكان تياره قوى جدا فتقدم الاب بان ينزل يشيله ممن[2] له معرفة بالعوم ، فنزع جماعة من الحاضرين ثيابهم ونزلوا يطلبوه فلم يجدوه فلم يزالوا يغطسوا ويفتشوا من الساعة السادسة من النهار الى الساعة التاسعة حتى تعبوا وضجروا ، وبلغ خبره الى امه فخرجت صارخة باكية مثل ارملة مدينة نايين فوجدوه بعد عشرة ساعات واصعدوه وهو ميت فحملوه الى خيمة الاب انبا يوحنا البطرك وتركوه قدامه ومضوا ، فقام القديس وصلى وسال الله فيه ففتح الشاب عينيه وقام وخرج من الخيمة حيا والجمع قيام برا فبادروا اليه وازدحموا عليه لينظروا هذه الاية العجيبة ولم يقدر يتخلص منهم ويمضى الى بيته الا بعد تعب وجهد عظيم . واشتهرت عنه[3] هذه الاية العظيمة فى جميع بلاد سورية وغيرها حتى وصل خبرها الى بلاد مصر وصار فخر الارتدكسيين وحزنا للمخالفين ، وكانت ملطيه قريبة من الدير الذى سكن

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(١) لبنا = لبناء (٢) ممن] ١ ٢ ١ ٥ ١ (ظ) : فمن (٣) عنه] ١ : عنده

١٠٠ (ج) فيه هذا الاب* القديس وليس كان فى كرسيه اعظم منها ولا اكثر نصارى وكان فيها ستة وخمسين كنيسة عامرة بالكهنة والشعب الكثير السريان الارتدكسيين وكان عددهم ستين الف نصرانى يحملوا السلاح اذا ارادوا واحتاجوا الى ذلك سوى النسا ، ولما وصلت انا البايس ميخاييل وانا[1] غبريال اسقف صا الى هذا البطرك القديس بالرسالة السنوديقا من جهة انبا اخرسطودولس عند جلوسه على كرسى الاسكندرية واعمالها راينا منه قدس عظيم ، ولما انفصلنا عنه اكرمنا وانفذ ابن اخيه معنا لننظر المدينة والخلق الذى فيها فقال لنا ليس عندى مثلها ، وراينا فيها نفرا من الملكية الخلقدونيين ولهم مطران فيها ، وكان اليعاقبة الارتدكسيين الذين هم فى المدينة من كثرة محبتهم لهذا القديس البطرك يمضوا اليه فى كل وقت الى الدير ويسلوه[2] الحضور عندهم فى الاعياد الكبار وفى ايام الاحاد ليتباركوا منه ويتقربوا من يده ، وكان اذا اتاهم يلقوه بالاناجيل والصلبان والمجامر والقراة[3] بين يديه من باب المدينة الى الكنيسة بفرح عظيم ومحبة يفعلوا ذلك كل دفعة ياتى اليهم ويذكروا فضايله لكل احد ويتحدثوا بالايات التى فعلها الله سبحنه على يده ، فوجد الشيطان له معين فى اذية البطرك المذكور اسقف مخالف ممن يقول بطبيعتين فاقام عليه تجربة عظيمة كما قال الرسول ان كلمن يريد ان يحيى بالامانة المستقيمة فانه يضطهد من اناس ارديا مبغضين للحق ، فناصبه هذا الاسقف حسدا بغير حشمة لانه كان يرى اجلال الناس لهذا الاب القديس وخدمتهم له لقوة امانتهم فيه وينظر الى دخوله الى مدينته باحسن زى واجماه ، وكان الاسقف المذكور يدخل ويخرج ولا يلتفت احد اليه ولا يسال عنه فتفتت قلبه من الحسد والغيرة المتولدة فيه والحنق عليه ، فمضى الى القسطنطينية ورفع على هذا الاب القديس انبا يوحنا عند الملك وقال له ان فى مملكتك رجل بطرك قد تطاول والناس يطيعوه اكثر منك وهم

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(١) كذا فى الأصول ، ولعل المقصود «ابا» او «انبا» واخطأ الناسخ فى نقلها (٢) ويسلوه] اقرأ : ويسألوه (٣) والقراه = والقراءة

يعاقبة ويتعبدوا لهذا المخالف اليعقوبى وهو ايضا يدعوا للملوك غيرك اكثر منك وقد صار له اسم كاذبا انه يقيم الموتا[1] ولاجل هذا مالت اليه قلوب الجمع فتطرده الان من ملكك وتحضره الى هاهنا ويحكم قدسك بينى وبينه ، فارسل الملك ليحضره وجلس الاسقف فى مدينة البطرك عند بطركها وكانوا مجتمعين يدبروا ما يفعلوا بالقديس فوجدوه الرسل فى ملطيه ، فلما علموا المومنين بالخبر اجتمعوا كلهم وقالوا نحن نموت كلنا ولا يوخذ منا بل نبذل نفوسنا وكلما نملكه دونك ، فمنعهم من ذلك وقال لهم كلاما لينا ان من يقاوم الملك فهو يخطى وهو كالمقاوم لامر الله ما عسا الملك يقدر ان يعمل غير قتل جسدى فان فعل لى هذا فهو اكليل مستعد لى وان كلمنى من اجل الامانة فهو جهاد لى وكرامة وكيف لى ان اتشبه بسيدى الذى شتم وقتل ، وبهذا وما يشبهه كان يخاطبهم الى ان تركوه فسار مع الرسل ومعه اربعة اساقفة وثلثة رهبان تلاميذا له الى ان وصلوا به الى دار الملك بالقسطنطينية فجعلوه فى الاعتقال ايام الى ان اعلموا الملك بوصوله ثم ان بطرك الملكية جعل له يوم فرغه[2] هو واساقفته واسقف ملطيه الذى رفع على البطرك يوحنا وتزينوا بقساوة قلب ولبسوا ثياب ديباج وجلسوا على كراسى مجملة وامروا* ١٥٥ (ظ) باحضار القديس يوحنا اليهم فاتاهم بثياب زرية ووقف قدامهم هو والذين معه فلم يجلسوهم ولا سلموا عليهم وتشاغلوا عنهم بالقراة وهم قيام حينا حتى ضاقت صدورهم ، وعند ذلك تكلم يوحنا القديس بلسان عذب سريانى وقال اى قانون من قوانين البيعة امركم ان تجلسوا على كراسيكم وتوقفونا بين ايديكم مثل الاعوان ، فقالوا له انت مخالف وجماعتك وما يجب ان تجلسوا معنا كالاساقفة الارتدكسيين ، فقال لهم ان كنا مخالفين كما تقولوا انتم فنجلس معكم ونتكلم على الامانة والذى يعطيه الله الغلبة فهو يظفر ان وجدنا من يحكم بيننا بالحق لا بسلطان المملكة ، وكان اسقف ملطيه قد قرر مع بطرك الملكية واساقفته ان لا يجادلوه ولا اساقفته وقال لهم انهم علما[3] جدا وان جادلتوهم

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(١) الموتا] ا ١٥٣ (ج) : الموتى (٢) كذا فى ا ، م (٣) علما = علماء

افتضحتوا قدامهم بل تسلطوا عليهم بالكلام بعز المملكة ، فحينيذ[1] شتموهم وقالوا لهم انتم هراطقة ما[2] ينبغى لنا[3] نخاطبكم وقالوا للخدام خذوهم للغد ، فلما كان بالغداة احضر الملك جميعهم واوقفهم بين يديه وجعل ترجمانا بينه وبينهم وقال الملك للترجمان قل للبطرك قد عرفونى انك قديس الله والان ما احب منك الا ان تعترف بمجمع خلقدونيه وتطيب نفسى فارفعك واكرمك واعطيك السلطان على جميع البلاد القريبة منك ، فقال له يا سيدنا الملك الرب يحفظ مملكتك وسلطانك وهو يعلم اننى ما اترك الصلاة والدعا لمملكتك الضابطة كما امرتنا الكتب المقدسة حتى تكون حياتنا فى دعة وسلامة وليس يجوز لسلطانك ان يلزم احد بان يترك دينه كما ان لنا ملكين وهما ملك الحبشة وملك النوبة وما يلزموا احد من اهل ملتكم المقيمين عندهم ان ينتقلوا عن امانتهم والان فانا اسال السيد المسيح ان يثبت ملكك بلا اضطراب ويحفظ كل منا بما قد تبينه له ، ففسر الترجمان جميع ما قاله له الا الملكين الحبشى والنوبى فانه زاد فى ذلك وقال لنا ملكين اعظم منك ، وذلك ان اسقف ملطيه كان برطل الترجمان بمال وقرر معه ان يحرف القول عنه بما يحنق الملك عليه ولو بكلمة واحدة ، فلما سمع الملك اشتد غضبه وحنقه ولعنه ولعن مذهبه ومجمعه وقال حقا انكم مخالفين وامر ان يعاد الى الاعتقال ، وكان احد تلاميذ القديس يوحنا يفهم اللغة وهو ترجمانه فلما خرجوا اعلمه بما فعله الترجمان من تحريف القول عنه ، فلما كان بالغداة احضر الملك بطركه ومجمعه واستشارهم فيما يفعله ، فاشاروا عليه بان ينفيه الى الجزاير القريبة منه هو ومن معه الى ان يعترفوا بامانتهم وحينيذ[1] يطلق سبيلهم ، وكان منهم شيخين مطرانين فلما علما بذلك اعترفا بمجمع خلقدونيه وظنا انهما يبقيا فى طقسهما الاول فلم يتركهما بطرك الملكيه فيه بل جعلهما ابودياقنين ، واما الاثنين الاخر فانهما تمسكا بامانتهما ولم يجيبا الى ما اراده الملك واجتهد الملك فما قدر يصدهما عن امانتهما الارتدكسيه ، فاحضر الملك ابا يوحنا البطرك ووعده بكرامة كثيرة

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(١) فحينيذ] ا : فحينيذاً (٢) ما] ا : وما (٣) لنا] ا : لنا ان

وتقدمة ، فقال له هوذا انا قايم بين يديك وتحت حكمك وسلطانك فهو على جسدى فافعل فيه ما ترى وكما تريد فاقتلنى فاننى لا اتخلا عن امانتى المستقيمة الى الابد ، فامر بنفيه الى دير فى جزيرة قريبة من القسطنطينية بينه وبينها مسافة يوم واحد ولم يدع معه الا تلميذ واحد يخدمه ، وكان به وجع النقرس فى رجليه فاقام هناك سنتين* وكان فى تلك الجزيرة حبيس من الملكية فامر الرهبان الذين معه ان يمضوا كل يوم الى البطرك القديس يوحنا ويلعنوه ويبصقوا فى وجهه وجعل عليهم حرم ان لم يفعلوا ذلك كل يوم وكانوا يفعلوا به هذا مدة مقامه هناك ، وكان فى الدير صبى خادم وكان يزيد فى شتم البطرك وكان التلميذ اذا اصلح ما[1] حار لرجلى البطرك ليجد به راحه يرمى ذلك الصبى فيه الرماد ، وكان التلميذ يبكى والبطرك يعزيه ويقول له يا ولدى الله ما ينسانا ، وكان الصبى قد لج فى هذا الفعل فوثب عليه روح شيطان فخنقه وخبطه وعذبه فقدموه الى الشيخ[2] انبا يوحنا وهو يزبد ويضرب براسه ويصر باسنانه فاقام ثلثة ايام والشيطان يعذبه ثم مات موتا ردى ، وكان بالقسطنطينيه انسان يحب انبا يوحنا لجا[3] الى هناك ليفتقده فلم يقدر يصل اليه فكتب له رقعة ومضى الى[4] قرية قريبة من الدير اجتمع فيها بانسان يعرفه وقال له انا اشتهى تاخذ هذه الرقعة توصلها للبطرك سرا من غير ان يعلم بك احد ودفع له دينار والرقعة ولم يكن فيها شيا[5] الا السوال عنه[6] والاعتذار اليه بانه لا يمكن من الوصول اليه ليفتقده والتمس منه بركة يجعلها فى منزله ، فاخذ الرقعة ومضى بها الى المقدم كما فعل يودس ، فارسل قوما الى صاحب الرقعة فضربوه وحبسوه فسمع الاب البطرك بكاه وكلامه بالسريانى فصاح لتلميذه واستعلم منه الخبر فاعلمه بكلما جرى فتعجب البطرك واغتم وانفذ اليه يعزيه وقال له لا تضيق صدرك بعد ثلثة ايام يزيل الرب هذا كله ، فاستقصى التلميذ عن معنى القول فقال له سرا بعد ثلثة ايام ياخذنى

١٥٦ (جـ)

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(١) ما = ماء (٢) الى الشيخ] ١٥٣١ (ظ) : للشيخ (٣) لجا = لجاء (٤) الى] ساقطة من «م» وواردة فى «ا» (٥) شيا] ا : شى (٦) عنه] ا : عنده

الله اليه فلا تدفنى فى مدفن الهراطقة بل اجعلنى فى موضع وحدى لان اليوم الذى
انام فيه ينفذ الملك ليخرجنى فيجدنى قد خرجت من هذا الجسد فيمضى بك وبالرجل
الاخر الى الملك فيفرج عنكما وانا اوصيك ان تقول للشعب لا يدع الذى ياتى بعدى
يسكن فى بلاد الروم بل يسكن فى امد او مدينه الرها ، وكان تلميذه مفكر كيف
يقدر يخلص جسده بعد موته[1] من المخالفين ليلا يفعلوا به ما يريدوا ثم قال فى نفسه بل
تكون مشية الله ، فعلم البطرك بالروح فكره وقال له لماذا تشك لاجل جسدى اومن
ان الله قادر على كل شى ، ومن بعد ثلثة ايام تنيح كما قال ، فلما علموا الرهبان بذلك
اجتمعوا ليدفنوه ، وكان رييس الدير برا فارسل الملك يطلب البطرك فوجده ميتا فتخاصموا
الرسل مع الرهبان الذين ارادوا دفنه ومنعوهم ان يدفنوه هناك وقالوا امضوا بهذا
الهراطيقى من وسط الارتدكسيين فاخذوه ومضوا به الى موضع صخره لحفروا ودفنوه
بعيد عنهم ، فاما رسل الملك فانهم[2] اخذوا التلميذ والرجل الذى جا[3] من القسطنطينية
لافتقاد البطرك وكتب اليه الرقعة وعادوا الى الملك واخبروه بوفاته فاطلقهما لانه كان
قد قاسا عذابا فى منامه فى تلك الليلة لاجل البطرك القديس ، وكانت نياحته فى النفى
فى سنة سبع ماية سبعة واربعين للشهدا الابرار ، وما كان الله جل ثناوه وتعالى يخفى
عنه شيا مما يريد معرفته لقدسه وطهارته ، وكان من قبل اشخاصه الى بلاد الروم قد
هرب اليه انبا افرهام اسقف دمياط لاجل ما جرى عليه من شعبه وما بلغه عن قدسه
فمضى ودخل ديره وعليه لباس زرى بزى الرهبان وقلنسوة بيضا ليخفى امره ووقف
(ظ) ١٥٦ فى زاوية من البيعة فى وسط* جماعة الرهبان وكان يوم الاحد والاب انبا يوحنا داخل
الاراديون فقال لتلميذه امضى الى الموضع الفلانى من البيعة تجد هناك اسقفا من ديار
مصر قايما مع الرهبان بزى راهب فاتينى به ، وهذا عجب يشبه ما جرى للقديس
باسيليوس المعلم الكبير اسقف قيساريه قبادوقيه مع القديس مارى افرام السريانى ، فمضى

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[1] بعد موته] ساقطة من ا ١٥٤ (ج) [2] فانهم] ساقطة من ا [3] جا] ساقطة من ا

التلميذ الى هناك فلم يعرفه لاجل تغييره[1] لباسه ، فعاد الى الاب وقال له ما وجدته ، فقال له[2] بلا هو قايم هناك ومعه راهبين غريبين ، فرجع التلميذ الى الموضع وقال للثلثة من منكم الاسقف ، فقال واحد من الراهبين هو هذا فقال له الاب يدعوك ، فاتى معه اليه ولما دخل له سجد بين يديه فاقامه البطرك وقال له لماذا هربت من النعمة التى دفعها لك السيد المسيح ، فقال له ما انا هارب وانما جيت لاشاهدك واخذ بركتك ، فقال له بلا انت هارب من كثرة الكلام والتعب الذى نالك وخاطبه بكلام طيب قلبه واقام عنده مدة واعاده الى كرسيه مكرما . وجلس على كرسى انطاكيه بعد هذا القديس يوحنا ابن اخيه واسمه يوحنا بطركا رزقنا الله شفاعتهما وبركتهما جميعا ، وتلميذه اخبرنى انا ميخاييل كاتب هذه السيرة بذلك لما مضيت الى كرسى انطاكيه بعد ان صرت اسقفا على كرسى مدينة تنيس واعمالها ومعى انبا غبريال اسقف صا بالرسالة السنوديقا التى كتبها انبا اخرسطودلوس بطريرك الاسكندرية الى ابا يوحنا المقدم ذكره فى سنة سبع ماية خمسة وستون للشهدا لاننى سالت هذا التلميذ وقلت له نعم اقام الاب ابا يوحنا الميت احقا هو فشرح لى جميع ما ذكرته فى هذه السيرة . فاما خبره مع انبا افرهام اسقف دمياط فاننى سمعته من فمه فى السنة التى توفى فيها الاب انبا زخارياس بمصر ، وهذين البطركين لقيا تعبا عظيما ومشقة واخذا اكليلا جليلا بصبرهما واعترافهما بالامانة الارتدكسية قدام المخالفين ، اما انبا يوحنا فقدام[3] ملك الروم وبطركهم وطايفته ، واما ابا زخارياس فقدام الحاكم ملك المسلمين واهل مملكته ، وقال انبا افرهام اسقف دمياط المقدم ذكره شاهدت من الاب القديس يوحنا البطرك عند كونى عنده عجايب عظيمة ، فمنها اننى رايت تلميذ من تلاميذه فقيل لى انه كان اعما وان ابا يوحنا فتح عينيه ، فسالت التلميذ بمطانوه ان يشرح لى خبره ، فقال لى كنت اعما وكنت اجلس فى البيعة عند حوض الما الذى تغطى الناس قربانهم منه وكنت امسك ثياب الذين اعرف

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(١) تغييره] ا : تغيره (٢) له ساقطة من م وواردة فى ا ١٥٤ (ج) : (٣) فقدام] ا ١٥٤ (ظ) : قدام

كلامهم ليصدقوا على بشى من مالهم فجذبت يوم ثوب واحد من الاخوة فمضى وشكانى
للاب وكان قد فرغ من تقريب الشعب واعطاهم السلامة وغسل يديه فخرج الى عندى
وقال لى يا ولدى ما بالك توذى الناس وتخزق ثيابهم ، فقلت يا ابى انا اعمى وضعيف
وهم يبصروا اطلب منهم ان يعطونى شيا صدقة فما يفعلوا ، قال لى فان فتح السيد المسيح
عينيك فايش تعمل ، فقلت اخدمك الى يوم وفاتى ، فاخذ بيده من ذلك الحوض
ما وقال السيد المسيح الذى جبل طينا بتفلته من الارض وطلى به عينى الاعما المطموس
وقال له امضى اغسلهما فى عين سلوان ينفتحا هو يفتح عينيك[١] هاتين ورش الما على
عينى فانفتحا كما ترى فخدمته الى الان واخدمه ايضا الى ان اموت تحت رجليه .
وعرفنى الثقات المامونين عن الاب انبا زخارياس عجايب كثيرة منها ان انبا مرقوره
اسقف تلبانه كان جسمه قد تلمع بالبرص وظهر عليه بياض فاحش فحضر عند الاب انبا
١٥٧ (ج) زخارياس بدمروا فى يوم احد فقال له الاب المذكور بتواضع* وسكينة ووجع قلب
يا اخى ابا مرقوره انا مساهمك فما انت فيه وانت تعرف ان الله قال لموسى لا تاخذ بوجه
احد فى الحكم وما يصح كهنوة[٢] الا بعد ان يقلع السيد المسيح عنك هذا الوضح لانه
نجس كما سماه الكتاب ، فبكا وقال عينى بصلاتك يا ابى القديس وخرج من عنده
ومضى الى كنيسة فى كرسيه على اسم السيدة الطاهرة مرتمريم العذرى والدة الاله الكلمة
وتلك البيعة فى ضيعة تسمى تمى[٣] فدخلها غداة يوم الاثنين وكان فيها شيخ قسيس[٤] اسمه
فرح وقال لتلميذه اذا كان نهار الاربعا عشية افتقدنى ها هنا فان[٥] وجدتنى توفيت ساعد
هذا القس على دفنى ها هنا وان[٥] وجدتنى حى خاطبتك ، فمضى عنه التلميذ ووقف هو
بين يدى صورة السيدة باكيا متضرعا يوم الاثنين وليلة الثلثا ويومه وليلة الاربعا
ويومه وهو يتشفع بها ضارعا لها فى كشف ذلك الوضح وازالته عنه ، فلما كانت الساعة

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(١) عينيك] ا : عيناك (٢) كهنوة] ا : كهنوت (٣) تمى] ا : نمى (٤) قسيس] ا :
قس (٥-٥) العبارة ساقطة من ا

التاسعة من نهار يوم الاربعا خدر من الصوم والتعب فاسند بالحايط الذى فيه الصورة وهو ناعس فراى يد الصورة كانها قد مسحت جسمه فاستيقظ وقد عوفى من مرضه ، فاستدعى القس واعلمه بالخبر وساله ان ينظر جسمه كله فراه وقد صار نقيا سالما من الوضح ففرح وشكر السيد المخلص وعظم بكاه ، ثم جاه التلميذ اخر النهار فقال له يا ولدى قد تفضل السيد المسيح بشفاعة السيدة الطاهرة والدته بالعافية ويجب ان اقيم فى هذا الموضع ثلثة ايام اخر شكرا للسيد على ما انعم على به واتينى بالدابة يوم السبت ، ثم انه[١] استعمل يسيرا من خبز وما واقام هناك ثلثة ايام كما قال واتاه التلميذ عشية يوم السبت فتوجه الى دمروا ودخل الى الاب زخارياس[٢] غداة يوم الاحد وهو فى البيعة وعرفه بالخبر وقال يا ابى هذا بصلواتك ، فقال له بل بامانتك وصلاتك وجعله تصرف وقدس[٣] ذلك اليوم ، وقال له حقا انك احق منى بالقداس لناخذ بركتك عقيب هذه النعمة الجليلة التى نالتك ، ومجد جميع الحاضرين الله صانع العجايب . وكان انسان شماس من اهل منيتى مليج معروف مشهور فتخاصم مع زوجته وكانت طاهرة دينة فخرج من عندها وقد امتلا غيضا[٤] شيطانيا فمضى جامع رجل مونث ووقع معه فى الخطيه ثم عاد الى منزله فصالحته زوجته ، فلما كان الليل جلس على فراشه وتعرى من ثيابه لينضجع فرات زوجته جسمه وقد[٥] وضح جميعه بالبرص ، فقامت وقد امتلت خوفا وقالت له ما الذى فعلت حتى تبرصت انظر الى جسمك ، فتامل جسمه وبكا بحرقة وقال لها يا اختى لما تخاصمت معك اليوم ولعب بى الشيطان ففعلت كذا وكذا ثم لطم وجهه ونتف شعر لحيته وزاد فى البكا ، فقالت له زوجته الخيرة الدينة وهى باكية عليه قد اخطات يا اخى وغلطت فبادر الى الاب انبا زخارياس[٢] القديس وامسك قدميه والزمهما حتى يسال الله فيك فتبرا ، فنهض باكرا وركب دابته ومضى الى دمروا وطرح نفسه بين يدى

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(١) انه] ساقطة من ا (٢) زخارياس] ا ١٥٥ (ج) : زاخارياس (٣) أى يتصرف ويقدس
(٤) غيضا = غيظا (٥) وقد] ا : قد

البطرك[١] واكثر البكا والتضرع وتعلق بقدميه واعترف له بما جرى عليه فقال له
يا ولدى فيك ان تثبت على التعب بين يدى السيد المسيح ، فقال له يا ابى احكم على بما
شيت فانى فاعله بمعونة الله لى وبركة صلاتك ، فدخل به الى بيت مظلم عنده وتركه
قايم فى ساطرة طرفا بشبه البتيه بعد ان جعل فيها نصفها ملح وجعل وجهه الى الشرق
وقال له يا ولدى واصل الصلاة والتضرع والبكا وتوب ان لا تعود الى خطية ،
وكان بعد ثلثة ايام وثلثة ليال يطعمه خبز يسير بالميزان ويسقيه الما ايضا بميزان الى تمام
خمسة عشر يوم[٢] وجا اليه افتقده وصلى عليه والى تمام ثلثة اسابيع افتقده ايضا وصلى
١٥٧ (ظ) عليه* والى تمام الشهر جا اليه وكشف جسمه فوجد الوضح قد تناقص عنه فطيب نفسه
ثم بشره بذلك ثم الى تمام اربعين يوما اتاه وتامله فوجده قد طهر ولم يبق فى جسمه
شيا من الوضح ففرح به وحمه بما حار[٣] ودهنه وصلى عليه وقال له يا ولدى قد عوفيت
فاعرف ما ندرته على نفسك ولا تعود الى خطية ولا تظن اننى صومتك ثلثة ايام ثم
بعدها ثلثة ايام[٤] وافطرت انا بل حى هو اسم المسيح ما تغذيت فى هذه الاربعين يوما[٥]
الا بمثل ما غذيتك به ولا كنت افطر الا فى الوقت الذى كنت افطرك[٦] فيه بمثل الخبز
والما الذى كنت اغذيك به سوا[٧] ثم بارك عليه وامره بالانصراف الى منزله فعاد الى
زوجته المباركة فرحا[٨] مسرورا ، وذكر الشيخ علم الكفاه ابو يحيى اصطفن ابن مينا
التوريجى[٩] الكاتب انه مضى مع عما[١٠] له اسمه زكير الى دمروا وسلموا على الاب انبا
زخارياس[١١] البطرك رزقنا الله بركة صلاته فخرج الاب ماشيا بلا دابة الى طمباره[١٢]
حتى سلم على انسان نوبى[١٣] راهب اسمه ششيه واخذ بركته قبل ان يبارك عليه واكرمه

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(١) البطرك] ا ١٥٥ (ج) الأب البطرك (٢) يوم] ا : يوماً (٣) أى حماه (فاستحم بماء دافئ) (٤) ثم بعدها ثلثة أيام] ساقطة من ا (٥) يوما] ساقطة من ا (٦) افطرك] ساقطة من ا (٧) سوا] ا : سوى (٨) فرحا] ساقطة من ا (٩) التوريجى] كذا فى ا ، والنقط ناقص فى م (١٠) عما = عم (١١) زخارياس] ا ١٥٥ (ج) : زاخارياس (١٢) طمباره] ا : طمياره (١٣) نوبى] ا : نوتى

كرامة كثيرة وخضع له وبجله ، فلما خرج من عنده سالوه الذين كانوا معه وقالوا له ما السبب فى تعظيمك لشان هــذا وخضوعك له وتقديمه عليك فى البركة وانت بطرك الاقليم ، فقال لهم هذا كان الحاكم طرحه معى للسباع بعد تجويعها فكانت السباع تخضع له وتلحس رجليه قبلى .

سانوتيوس[١] البطرك وهو من العدد الخامس والستون

فلمـا تنيح انبا زخارياس[٢] البطرك طلب قوم البطركية وطمعوا ان ينالوها بيد السلطان وان يلزموا الاساقفة بتقديمهم ، فلما علم بذلك بقيره الكاتب الرشيدى صاحب الصليب الذى فيه الغيرة لله تعالى جمع قوما اخيار ومضى الى الوزير على ابن احمد وخاطبه فى ذلك ، وكان رجـل يفهم ويحب النصارى فقال لبقيره ومن معه يجب لبيت المال المعمور على من يقسم بطركا ثلثة الف دينار وقد تركناها كرامة[٣] لكم وما تفعلوا بعد هذا ما يرضى الله سبحنه[٤] كما يفعل[٥] عندنا ببغداد وذلك انهم اذا ارادوا يقدموا انسان للبطركية اجتمعوا فى البيعة واختاروا ممن فى الديارات ماية رجل ومن الماية خمسين ومن الخمسين خمسة وعشرين ومن الخمسة وعشرين عشرة ومن العشرة ثلثة ويكتبوا اسماوهم[٦] الثلثة فى ثلثة رقاع والرابعة يكتبوا فيها اسم الرب وتشمع بنادق وتجعل على الهيكل ويصلوا ويقدسوا وبعد الصلاة والقداس يجيبوا طفل صغير من اولادهم ما عليه خطية فيمد يده وياخذ احدتهن[٧] فان كان فيها اسم من الثلثة أوسموه بطركا وان كان فيها اسم الرب علموا ان ما فى الثلثة من يصلح فيكتبوا اسما ثلثة اخر ولم يزالوا كذلك الى

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(١) فوقها بالمـداد الاحمر فى ا : ١٥٥ (ج) يعنى شنوده (٢) زخارياس] ا ١٥٥ (ج) : زاخارياس (٣) كرامة] ساقطة من ا ١٥٥ (ظ) (٤) سبحنه] ا : سبحـانه (٥) يفعل ا : نفعل (٦) اسماوهم] : ا ١٥٥ (ج) : اسماهم (٧) احدتهن] كذا فى ا والمقصود احداهن

ان يصطفى الله[١] سبحنه من يختاره فيطلع اسمه فيوسموه بطركا وهكذى يجب ان تفعلوا
انتم ها هنا ، فتعجبوا من حكمته وفهمه وشكروه ودعوا له ومضوا ، فاجتمع الاساقفه
ومعهم روسا[٢] وادى هبيب فلم يفعلوا كما قال لهم الوزير بل جلسوا يفكروا فى قوم
يختاروهم ليوسموا منهم واحد فذكر انسان كان قد ترهب وعمره اربعة عشر سنه اسمه
شنوده وقد صار قسيسا فى اسكنا ابو مقار عارفا بالكتب المقدسة وهو من اهل تلبانة
عدى وترهب فى منشوبية تعرف بدبحانه[٣] وكان بعض الاساقفة يخيره[٤] لعلمه وكان
شيخ فبقيوا حايرين فى من يقسموه هو او غيره فراى احد الاساقفة قايلا يقول له فى
منامه اول من يدخل اغدا[٥] من باب البيعة ويقبل الاجساد خذوه فهو البطرك فانتبه
١٥٨ (ج) لوقته واعلم الاخوه الاساقفة بذلك ، فلما* اصبحوا دخل شنوده فاخذوه للوقت وكان
قبل هذا فى ليلة اليوم المذكور قد راى فى منامه بطرس الرسول ويوحنا الانجيلى وكانهما
قد دفعا له مفاتيح ، فلما انتبه قال لراهب كان معه فقال رايت فى منامى كذا وكذا ،
فقال له الراهب البطركية تصير لك[٦] ، وقيل ان شنوده هذا كان مشتهى لهذا وكان قد
التمس اسقفية مصر ولم يكن معه شيا يدفعه عن ذلك فطردوه وجعلوا فيلاتاوس[٧]
اسقفا على كرسى مصر وانهم قبل ان يلبسوه ثوب البطركية استقر بينه وبين الاساقفة
ان يقسم لهم يونس الراهب الذى سعى بالاب زخارياس[٨] الى الحاكم اسقفا للفرما لخوفهم
من لسانه ومضوا به الى قلايته وضرب له مطانوه ان يساعده على كل شى ويجعله
عنده مثل اخ ، فقال له ان اردتنى اساعدك فاكتب لى خطك تعطينى فى كل سنة
ثلثون دينارا اعيش بها لان كرسى الفرما الذى تجعلنى عليه ما فيه شى وتقسم اخى فى
كرسى اخر ، فكتب خطه بذلك واقاموا الاساقفة بعد هذا ايام مجتمعين ولم يتفق
رايهم على قسمته ، وكان كل واحد منهم يذكر واحد من قرايبه او صديق له ليصير

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(١) الله] ساقطة من ا (٢) روسا] ا : رووسا (٣) ا ١٥٥ (ظ) «بدبجانة» بدون نقط الحرف الثالث (٤) يخيره] فى م النقط ساقطة ، وفى ا ١٥٥ (ظ) : يخبره (٥) إغدا = غداً (٦) لك] ا : اليك (٧) فيلاتاوس] ا : فيلوتاوس (٨) زخارياس] ا : زاخارياس

بطركا[1] الى بعد اسبوع ، فقال لهم يونس الراهب المقدم ذكره جلوسكم هذا الى متى وكل واحد منكم يطلب شهوة نفسه وما يصلح لكم غير شنوده رجل قديس عالم قد قرى الكتب وفهم (كذا) ووصفه واطنب فى وصفه وساعدوه الاساقفة فانفذوا احضروا شنوده وجعلوه اغومنس وساروابه الى الاسكندرية ، واجتمع الاسكندرانيين ليقرروا شيا يتعلق بهم فاخذوا خطه بخمس ماية دينار فى كل سنة يصرفوها فى مصالح كنايسهم واخذوا خطه بان لا ياخذ من احد شرطونية ولا يطلب عن موهبة المسيح دينار ولا درهم ولا اكثر من ذلك والزموه قبل قسمته عن رسوم جرت عادتهم بها للوالى ماية دينار ، فلما قسموه ولم يكن معه ما يدفعه للوالى ولا له ايضا فقال له قوم منهم انت اخير من ابايك الذين كانوا ياخذون الشرطونية ويدفعونها فى هذا وغيره فوافقه ذلك ، وكان كرسى بنا خال وكان هناك انسان اسمه يستس[2] وله ابن اخت اسمه رفاييل[3] فقرر معه عن الكرسى ستماية دينار ولم يكن معه شى غير نصف وربع دينار ، فمضى الى قوم مسلمين واقترض ذلك منهم بالربا وكتب على نفسه حجة بان يدفع لهم بذلك لوز من سعر اردب وثلث بدينار ، وحينيذ قسمه فاقام سنتين على كرسيه ومات ، ودفع البطرك المال للاسكندرانيين ، وفسخ ما كان استقر معه من انه لا ياخذ شرطونية ، واحب المال وجمع منه شى كثير ووهبه[4] لاهله ، وكان محب لمجد هذا العالم . ولما خرج من الاسكندرية واتوا به الى مصر ليكرزوه نزل فى كنيسة ميكاييل المختارة التى فى جزيرة مصر ، ومضى اليه جماعة الكهنة والاراخنة ليتباركوا منه وكان معهم الشماس بقيره الرشيدى صاحب الصليب ، فلما سلموا عليه واخذوا بركته وجلسوا قال لبقيره ملك الرب فلتزجر الشعوب ، قال له بقيره ما معنى هذا الكلام يا ابونا ، فقال له انا طلبت اسقفية مصر ما رضيت بى وطلبت فيلاتاوس[5] وهوذا الرب قد جعلنى ملك

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[1] بطركا] ا : بطريكا [2] هناك تحريف فى النقط بكلا الأصلين «م» و «ا» والاسم مشهور بالقبطية ΙΟΥϹΤΟϹ [3] رفاييل] ا ١٥٦ (ﺟ) : رافاييل [4] ووهبه] ا : ودفعه
[5] وطلبت فيلاتاوس] ا : فطلبت فيلوتاوس

بغير اختيارك فاغتاضوا[١] الاراخنة منه ونظر بعضهم الى بعض وهموا بالقيام ، فقال له بقيره هذا الكلام قاله داوود النبى فى المزمور عن السيد المسيح وحده لانه ملك على اليهود من غير ان يشتهوه ان يكون عليهم ملكا لانه جا لخلاص العالم وهوذا انت

١٥٨ (ظ) الان شبهت نفسك بالرب* وشبهتنا باليهود ، وقاموا خرجوا مغضبين قايلين ليس فى مملكتك[٢] خلاص ، وبالحقيقة ليس كان فيها خلاص لانه اول من قسم اسقفاً بنا الذى تقدم ذكره واخذ منه ستماية دينار ، واقسم بعده بدير ارشى بابا اسيوط اسقف واخذ منه مالا كثير فمنعوه اهل اسيوط من الدخول اليهم ثلثة سنين لاجل المال الذى دفعه لانهم تمسكوا بالقوانين وقالوا لا يجوز لمقدم ولا كاهن الذى ياهل نفسه لله ان يدفع على ذلك مال ولا ياخذ ممن يقسمه لخدمة الله شيا كقول المسيح من فاه المعظم لتلاميذه لما امرهم ان يعمدوا الامم ويبشروهم بالانجيل لخلاصهم ، قال لهم الوصية المشهورة فى الانجيل وقال لهم فى اخرها مجانا اخذتم مجانا اعطوا ، اى انكم قد اخذتم هذه النعمة بلا ثمن فلا تطلبوا ممن تدفعوها له ثمن ، ولم تزل[٣] بطاركة القبط وابهاتهم عاملين بهذه الوصية الى زمان الضغط من ولاة[٤] امور المسلمين من احمد ابن طولون الى ايام الحاكم وغير ذلك مما لو شرحناه لطال شرحه ، دعتهم الضرورات الى ما فعلوه من ذلك لاجل ما طلب منهم من المال وما كلفوه من الاثقال ، فلنعود الان الى ذكر قضية اسقف اسيوط انهم لمـا منعوه من الدخول اليهم عاد الى البطرك انبا شنوده وطلب منه المال او يثبت له الاسقفية ، فلم يقدر يفعل له شيا ولا عاد له المال الذى اخذه منه ، واقول انا البايس ميخاييل يشهد الرب على لقد رايته يوما يخاطبه فى هذا الامر فلم يخاطبه بكلمة واحدة ، فبكا ولطم خديه وقلع ثياب الاسقفية رماها ووقع مرتعدا كمثل الميت اوكمن به شيطان فاقمناه ورفقنا به الى ان اهتدا[٥] وعاد اليه عقله وكتبنا له كتاب

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[١] فاغتاضوا = فاغتاظوا [٢] مملكتك] ا : ملكتنا [٣] ولم تزل] ا : فلم تزل هذه
[٤] ولاة] ا ١٥٦ (ظ) : ولاية [٥] اهتدا] ا ١٥٦ (ظ) : اهتدى

الى اسقفين مجاورين كرسيه بان يكرزوه فى احد ضياع كرسيه ، وتوفا[1] اسقف اخر اسمه ايليا فى بلد تسما بشنانه فانفذ اخذ داره وكلما له ، فحضر اخوه وساله وتضرع اليه ان يعطيه الدار خالية وياخذ كلما فيها فلم يلتفت له واحوجه الى ان اسلم واخذ الدار وجميع ما فيها ، وكان من ضجره وافعاله مالا يجوز نسطرها ولما طالبوه اهل الاسكندرية بالخمس ماية دينار ثانى[2] سنة انكرهم ، فمضوا واشتكوه للوالى ، فمضى هو[3] وتطارح على قوم من الاراخنة حتى اخذوا الخط الذى بالخمس مابة دينار من الاسكندرانيين وكتب لهم غيره بثلثماية وخمسون دينار ، وحضر هذا التقرير بقيره الشماس صاحب الصليب وصالح البطرك وقال له اسمع الان ما اقوله لك فهو يرضى الله تعالى والناس ويفرحوا به ، فقال له مهما اشرت به فعلته ولا اخالفه ، قال له يجب ان تترك هذه الشرطونية التى تاخذها ولا تبيع موهبة الله بالمال ، فقال له من اين لى ما انفقه على نفسى وتلاميذى وما احتاجه من الموون[4] واللوازم وما اعطيه للاسكندرانيين وما اقوم به عن خراج الاراضى التى على ، قال له نحن نحسب كلما عليك وجميع ما تحتاجه ونحسب كلما تاخذه من الاساقفة عن الديارية فى كل سـنة فان عجزت شيا قسطناه علينا وحملناه لك وتستريح من هذا الاسم السو الذى يكرهه الله والناس ، فاظهر انه قد طاب قلبه وهو فى الباطن لا يوثره ، فقال له اكتب خطك بالرضا بهذا فكتب بذلك خطه فاخذه بقيره وانصرف ، وكنت انا البايس ميخاييل الغير مستحق ان ادعا اسقف تنيس حاضرا وانا يوميذا[5] شماس ففرحت بهذا الامر وساعدت عليه وكان جعلنى كاتبه لان قوما من اصحابه وصفونى له فاخذنى اكتب له ، ثم انه انفذ احضر الاساقفة ليطيب قلبهم بهذا ، فدخل اليه انسان منهم وقال له ما الحاجة الى ما* دعوتنا اليه ولماذا تركت الشرطونية ١٥٩ (ج) وزعمت انك لا تاخذ شيـا ممن تصيره اسقف اى شى فعلت بنفسك اذ سمعت ممن

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(١) وتوفا] ا : وتوفى (٢) ثانى] ا : وثانى (٣) هو] ساقطة من ا (٤) الموون = المؤن
(٥) يوميذا] ا : يوميذ

لا يريد لك خير فاقلب عقله من ساعته وثبت فى نفسه مخالفة بقيره وقال ان لم اخذ الشرطونية فقد مضت منى البطركية ، فلما سمع بقيره بان الاساقفة قد حضروا جا اليه واخذ بركته كالعادة وقال له يا ابونا قد حضروا الاساقفة فاجعل عندهم ان هذا الامر انت فعلته من ذاتك من غير ان يشير احدا عليك به فيكون هذا حسنا قدام الله والجمع ، فقال له هكذى افعل لكن احضر لى الخط الذى كتبته لك لاوقفهم عليه اذا اجتمعوا ، فدفعه له فلما صار فى يده مزقه قطعة قطعة ، فتعجبوا الحاضرين من فعله وقالوا هذا بيت مبنى على غير اساس ولا صخرة ، واتصل الخبر بالاساقفة فغضبوا وقالوا كانه انما يتلاهى[1] بنا واحضرنا لامر ورجع فسخه نحن لا ننزل عن هذا بالجملة ، وكانوا مجتمعين فى ابو مرقوره بمصر وكان انبا شنوده البطرك فى كنيسة ميكاييل[2] المختارة فانفذوا اليه بعض الاراخنة قايلين ما يمكنك تفسخ هذا الامر الذى جمعتنا بسببه فى معنى ترك الشرطونية الى ان يستقر ما يجب ، فلما راى انهم لا ينزلوا عن هذا الامر اجتمع معهم وجلسوا يخاطبوه من باكر الى الليل وبقيره معهم فما قدروا على مقاومته ، ثم دخل[3] اليه احد تلاميذه برقعة من عند رجل من حزب ابليس خزاه الله ، فلما وقف عليها قال للشماس بقيره وانت ايش لك فى الكلام فى هذا المجمع ، ثم اوما[4] الى تلاميذه فوثبوا اليه وضربوه ضربا عظيما وقام البطرك خرج وانفل[5] المجلس ومضى كل منهم الى موضعه ، واما يونس الراهب الذى صار اسقفا على الفرما فكتب له بان يعطيه ثلثين دينار فى كل سنة ويجعل اخوه اسقفا وانه لما طالبه بذلك لم يدفع له شيا ، فخرج من عنده وهو يهدده ويتواعده بان يفعل به كما فعل بانبا زخارياس[6] البطرك القديس ، فلما علم منه ذلك اظهر كتاب حرم عجيب لم يسمع بمثله كان كتبه عليه بيده من يوم جعله اسقف فانفذه حينيذ[7] الى كورة مصر ومقدمى النصارى والاساقفة بان لا يقبلوه

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(١) يتلاهى] ا ١٥٦ (ظ) يتلاها (٢) ميكاييل] ا : ميخاييل (٣) ثم دخل] ا : ودخل
(٤) اوما] ا : اومى (٥) وانفل] كذا فى م ، وفى ا : وانقل (٦) زخارياس] ا ١٥٧ (ج) زاخارياس (٧) حينيذ] ا : حينيذا

ولا يطعموه خبز ولا يدفعوا له شيا ، وكانوا فى اول سنة اقسم دفع له كل واحد
من الاساقفة دينارين ، فلما جرا[١] هذا اظهر هذا الحرم وفيه مكتوب من العتيقة[٢]
الحروم المكتوبة فى الناموس الثانى والمكتوبة فى المزمور المائة وثمانية لداوود النبى على
يهوذا الاسخريوطى ، وكان البطرك المذكور يكتب الحرم بيده ، وفى هذه الايام كان
الملك الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله واسمه ابو الحسن والوزير يوميذ[٣] على ابن احمد
الجرجانى والناظر فى الريف على ابن حديد وكان له صيت[٤] عظيم وملا الحبوس من
الناس رجال ونسا حتى ان النسا الحبالا ولدوا فى الحبوس وظهر فى تلك الايام بارض
فلسطين عجوبه[٥] وهو ان جبلين فى اعمال بانياس التقيا وخرج من بينهما نار عند التقايهما
احرقت اشجار كثيرة ونشف من البحر قطعة كبيرة حتى كانوا الناس ياخذوا السمك من
على الارض التى انكشفت ووجدوا فيها رصاص وحديد واشيا كثير ثم ان البحر عاد لما
كان عليه ، وفى سنة سبع مائة اربعة وخمسين للشهدا اشرق الريف ولم يزرع فيه الا
اليسير ، وفى زمان الحصاد ظهر فار كثير مثل الجراد فى الريف واكل مزارع كثيرة وكروم
وكانوا عند تدرية الاجران ياخذوا بايديهم الزناجر واليقطين ينقروا به على الفيران
ويحرسوا الغلة منهم ولا يطيقوا حراسها . وذكروا ان واحد من المزارعين اقلب جرن
فيه ستة عشر اردب وقعد يحرسه من الفيران الى بكرة ، فلما اصبح وجد فيه ستة
ارادب ، وكان لانسان كرم فدفع فيه ثلثة عشر دينار ، فقال ما اخذ الا اربعة عشر
دينار* فاصبح ثانى يوم فلم يجد فيه شى يساوى درهما واحدا . ولم يقدر احد فى تلك ١٥٩ (ظ)
السنة يخبز كعك خوفا ان تنعجن الفيران فيه حتى انهم كانوا يقرضوا الفخار ، وكان الشراقى
والفيران سخط من الله تعالى ، وكانوا الناس يبتهلوا الى الله سبحانه ويضرعوا اليه جل
اسمه فى ازالة ذلك عنهم برافته وفضله فزال فى هتور ، وذكر انسان ان قصريه نحاس

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(١) جرا] ا : جرى (٢) اى من العهد القديم (٣) يوميذ] ا : يوميذا (٤) صيت] ا : سيط (٥) عجوبة = اعجوبة

كان فيها ما الى مقدار نصفها نسوها مكشوفه بالليل فلما اصبحوا وجدوا فيها اربعين فار غرقوا فيها وماتوا ، وذكر اخر انه جلس فى الظلام وبيده عصا يضرب بها الارض ليطرد الفيران عن قفة فيها[١] قمح فلما اصبح وجد ماية وخمسين فار قد ماتوا بعصاته . وبعد هذا نزل على انبا شنوده ضربان فى راسه وتمسح نهاره وليله بدهن بنفسج فلا يجد له راحة من شدة الضربان والسعال ، وكان يحس النار كانها تلهب فى راسه ، ولحقه ايضا وجع فى اذنه واقام الوجع ثلثة سنين الى ان افتقده الرب جل اسمه فتنيح فى يومين[٢] من هتور فى سنة سبع ماية ثلثة وثلثين للشهدا وهو يشتهى الدنيا ، وكانت مدة بطركيته خمسة عشر سنة ونصف وتنيح وانا عنده جالس وغمضت عينيه بيدى ، واجتمعنا للصلاة عليه ودفناه فى الكنيسة الكبرى بدمروا الذى كان بناها انبا زخارياس[٣] البطرك وكلها هذا الاب انبا شنوده رزقنا الله بركة صلواته وانفق فيها مالا كثيرا لانه كان انذر ذلك قبل ان يصير بطركا .

وفى ذلك الزمان مات الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله وجلس بعده ولده بعد ابو تميم المستنصر بالله امير المومنين ، وفى ذلك الزمان احرقت بيعة اليعاقبة السريان بانطاكيه لخصومة جرت بين الكهنة والاراخنة بسبب مال البيعة المذكورة فمضى الارخن المقدم ذكره الى بطرك الملكية ودفع له مال حتى بعث ختم باب البيعة ، واخذ الكهنة وطرحهم الاعتقال وعذبوا منه ستة ايام الى ان انفذوا اليه وبدلوا انهم ينكروا امانتهم ويعترفوا بامانته ويصيروا معه على ان يبقيهم فى طقسهم وياخذ لهم حقهم من ذلك الارخن الذى ظلمهم ، فلما سمع الارخن بذلك سبقهم ومضى الى بطرك الملكية وصار ملكيا خوفا من ان يطالب[٤] بمال البيعة ، وصارت الكهنة ايضا ملكية وخرجوا من الاعتقاد ومضوا الى البيعة المذكورة ونهبوها وهدموا الهيكل واخذوا قربان كان فيها

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(١) فيها] ساقطة من ا (٢) فى يومين] مقطوعة من هامش م . وواردة فى ا ١٥٧ (ج) (٣) زخارياس] ا : زاخارياس (٤) يطالب] ا ١٥٧ (ظ) يطلب

فرموه فى البحر وهدموا البيعة وتسلطوا على الشعب وعذبوا اكثرهم حتى صاروا ملكية ، وحكى ان الذين صاروا ملكية من السريان اليعاقبة فى تلك النوبة احدى عشر الف انسان وهو الذى رايته وسمعته وكتبته لاخوتك انا البايس ميخاييل الدمراوى الذى قسمنى الاب انبا زخارياس[١] شماساً وجعلنى انبا شنوده قسا وصيرنى انبا اخرسطودلوس اسقفا على مدينة تنيس واعمالها بغير استحقاق منى لهذه الرتبة الجليلة . وكملت هذه السيرة فى اليوم الخامس والعشرين من بشنس سنة سبع ماية سبعة[٢] وستين للشهدا الابرار بقدر ما وصلت معرفتى اليه ليكون تذكار لى عند من يقراه ، والمجد للاب والابن والروح القدس الان وكل اوان والى دهر الداهرين امين[٣] .

قال موهوب ابن منصور ابن مفرج الاسكندرانى الشماس انه لما كان من تقدم من السلف الاخيار رزقنا الله بركتهم قد اهتم وكتب سيرة البيعة ورتبها وشرح امور البطاركة على كرسى البشير مارى مرقص[٤] الانجيلى بالاسكندرية وما جرى لهم ، وما اظهره الله سبحنه[٥] على يديهم من العجايب ، وايدهم به من الصبر والجهاد وقوة الامانة وارشادهم لرعيتهم وهدايتهم اياهم الى الامانة المستقيمة وتعليمهم الوصايا الانجيليــة كما امرهم الرب جل اسمه ، اشتهيت انا الخاطى البايس ان اجمع سيرهم واكتبهم* ليكون ذلك ربحا لى ولمن يقراها بعدى ، فاستعنت بالله تعالى ذكره ، وصرت[٦] الى دير القديس ابو مقار بوادى هبيب المقدس ، فوجدت الشماس ابا حبيب ميخاييل ابن[٧] بدير الدمنهورى ، وكان هناك الاب انبا كيرلص ومعه ثلثة اساقفة وهم انبا غبريال اسقف الجيرة وانبا ابرهام

١٦٠ (ج)

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(١) زخارياس] ا : زاخارياس (٢) سبعة] ا : سبع (٣) حاشيه بالمداد الاحمر على الهامش فى م ، ا ١٥٧ (ظ) كامله «كملت سيرة انبا شـنوده البـ[طرك] ويتلو ذلك [انبا اخرسطود لوس]» (٤) مرقص] ا : مرقس (٥) سبحنه] ا : سبحانه (٦) ابن بدير] ا : ابن ابن (كذا) (٧) وصرت] اقرأ : وسرت

اسقف دبقوا وانبا خايال اسقف نوسا الذى من بوره ، وذلك فى برمهات سنة ثمان مابة واربعة للشهدا ، الموافقة لسنة اربع ماية ستة وسبعين الخراجية ، وهو المحرم من سنة ثمانين واربع ماية الهلالية ، وهى السنة العاشرة من بطركيته ، وفى البرية المذكورة يوميذ تقدير سبع ماية راهب ، منها فى دير ابو مقار اربع ماية ، وفى دير ابو يحنس ماية خمسة وستين ، وفى دير ابو كما خمسة وعشرين ، وفى دير برموس عشرين[١] ، وفى دير ابو بشيه[٢] اربعين ، وفى دير السريان ستين ، وفى مغارة ابو موسى راهبين سريانى وقبطى سوا[٣] السواح الذى لم نراهم ولم نعرفهم . وكان يوميـذ[٤] ملك مصر الامام المستنصر بالله ، وجلس فى الملك احد وخمسين سنة خراجية ، لانه ولد يوم الثلثا السادس عشر من جمادى الاخر سنة اربع ماية وعشرين الهلالية ، وجلس فى المملكة وعمره سبع سنين فى يوم الاحد النصف من شعبان سنة اربع ماية سبعة وعشرين الهلالية ، الموافق لبرموده سنة اربع ماية خمسة وعشرين الخراجية[٥] ، ومتولى الامر والوزارة والنظر فى المملكة يوميذ السيد الاجل امير الجيوش سيف الاسلام بدر الجمالى ، وهى السنة الرابعة عشر منذ دخوله الى مملكة ديار مصر من عكا ، لانه كان واليا ومنها جا الى القاهرة فى العشر الاول من طوبه ، وهى صخرة[٦] امير الجيوش التى تعرف بديار مصر الى الان ولا تعرف بغيرها ، وتحدث[٧] مع الشماس ابو حبيب الدمنهورى المقدم ذكره فيما عولت عليه من جمع سير البطاركة ، فاتفق راينا على البحث عنها وطلبها حيث ما كانت ، فوجدنا فى دير السيدة بنهيا منها سيرة اثنين واربعين بطرك من مارى مرقس الانجيلى الى سيمون ، ووجدنا فى دير الشهيد الجليل تادرس على المنهى بابلاج سيرة اربعة[٨] بطاركة من الاكسندروس[٩] الى خايال وهو تمام ستة واربعين بطرك ،

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(١) وفى دير برموس عشرين] العبارة ساقطة من ا (٢) انبا بشوى (٣) سوا] ا : سوى (٤) يوميذ] ا : يوميذا (٥) الخراجية] ساقطة من ا ١٥٨ (ج) (٦) فى الاصل غير منقوط وصخرة بمعنى حصن (راجع الحاشية بالترجمة) (٧) وتحـدث] اقرأ : وتحدثت (٨) اربعة] ا : مكرر (٩) الاكسندروس] ا : الاسكندروس

ووجدنا فى دير نهيا ايضا سيرة تسعة بطاركة من انبا مينا الى شنوده وهو تمام خمسة وخمسون بطركا ، ووجدنا فى دير ابو مقار سيرة عشرة بطاركة من خايال السادس والخمسون الى سانوتيوس الخامس والستون ، كتبها انبا ميخاييل اسقف تنيس وهى بخط لقوط الراهب ولده ، فلما كملت لى هذه السير ونسختها بخطى وصارت عندى بالاسكندرية ، وجب الان ان ابتدى واشرح ما يتلوا ذلك ، وهى سيرة الاب القديس ابا[1] اخرسطودولس البطرك ومن جلس بعـده ، وجعلتها بمقتضى سياقة[2] عدد السنين التى قبلها .

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(١) ابا] ا : انبا (٢) سياقة] ا : بسياقه



to Šenouti (Šanûdah)[1] who completes the fifty-fifth patriarch, and we found in the monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) the biographies of ten patriarchs from Khaêl (Khâyâl), the fifty-sixth, to Šenouti (Sanûtiûs),[2] the sixty-fifth, which Abba Michael (Anbâ Mîkhâyîl), bishop of Tinnîs[3], wrote, and they are in the handwriting of Luḳûṭ the monk, his son[4].

Since I have these biographies complete[5], and I have transcribed them in my handwriting and have them with me at Alexandria, it is now necessary for me to begin to describe what follows that (the biography of Šenouti), namely, the biography of the saintly father Abba Christodoulos (Anbâ Ikhrisṭûdûlus) the patriarch, and (the biographies) of those who sat (on the Throne) after him, and I have made it in accordance with the number of the years which precede it".

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[1] Cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, t. I, fasc. 5, pp. [474]-[661] and pages of the present work.

[2] Cf. the present work, pp. 103-241.

[3] Cf. Amélineau, p. 507.

[4] Cf. note added at end of biography of Patriarch Simon in *P. O.*, t. V, fasc. 1, p. [301].

[5] *Lit.* Since these biographies became complete for me.

was in charge (mutawallî) of the affairs and the wazirate (wazârah) and the supervision (naẓar) of the kingdom at that time (was) the lord, the honoured amîr al-Ǧuyûš, Saif Al-Islâm[1], Badr al-Ǧamâlî, and it was the fourteenth year since his entry into the kingdom of the land of Miṣr[2] from Acre ('Akkâ), because he was its wâlî, and from it he came to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in the first decade of (the month of) Ṭûbah[3], and it is the Rock[4] of the amîr al-Ǧuyûš which is known in the land of Miṣr[2] till now, and it is not known (by a name) other than it.

I conferred with the aforementioned deacon Abba (Abû) Ḥabîb of Damanhûr (ad-Damanhûrî)[5] concerning my resolution[6] to collect the biographies of the patriarchs. We agreed on our opinion[7] to search for them and to seek them out, wherever they might be. We found in the monastery of the Mistress at Nahyâ[8] the biographies of forty-two patriarchs from my lord Mark (Mârî Markus) the Evangelist to Simon (Sîmûn), and we found in the monastery of the venerable Martyr Theodore (Tâdrus) at al-Manhâ at Iblâǧ the biographies of four patriarchs from Alexander (Alâksandrûs) to Khaêl (Khâyâl)[9] who completes forty-six patriarchs. We found also in the monastery of Nahyâ[10] the biographies of nine patriarchs from Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ)

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[1] Lord of the Armies, Sword of Al-Islâm. Cf. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

[2] Egypt.

[3] *i. e.* January-February.

[4] *i. e.* fortress. ''Akkâ' in Western sources is termed 'Saint Jean d'Acre', in which there may be a connection with the Greek word ἄκρον, mountain height, fortified place.

[5] Cf. p. 241, n. 5.

[6] *Lit.* what I resolved on.

[7] *Lit.* our opinions were in agreement on the search for them and the seeking them out.

[8] A. S. Atiya, *Some Egyptian Monasteries according to the Unpublished MS. of 'Kitab al-Diyārāt' by al-Shabushti*, in *Bull. de la Soc. d'Arch. copte*, vol. V, 1939, pp. 17-19.

[9] Cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, in *P. O.*, t. I, fasc. 2 et 4 and t. V, fasc. 1, pp. [37]-[302].

[10] Cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, t. V, fasc. 1, pp. [302]-[469].

who was of Bûrah [1]. This was in Baramhât [2] (in) the year eight hundred and four of the Martyrs [3] which corresponds to the year four hundred and seventy-six of the tax-year which is the (month of) Muḥarram of the year four hundred and eighty of the lunar (year) which is the tenth year of his (Cyril's) patriarchate.

In the aforesaid desert (there were) at that time about seven hundred monks of whom (there were) four hundred in the monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr), one hundred and sixty-five in the monastery of Abba John (Abû Yuḥannis) [4], twenty-five in the monastery of Abba Kamê (Abû Kamâ) [5], twenty in the monastery of Baramûs [6], forty in the monastery of Abba Pšoi (Abû Bišaih), sixty in the monastery of the Syrians (as-Suryân) [7], and two monks in the Cave of Abba Moses (Abû Mûsâ) [8]—a Syrian (suryânî) and a Copt (ḳibṭî) —besides the anchorites whom we did not see and did not know.

At that time, the king of Miṣr [9] was the Imâm al-Mustanṣir bi'llah who reigned [10] over the kingdom fifty-one tax-years [11], for he was born on Tuesday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Akhirah [12] (in the) lunar (year) [13] four hundred and twenty. He reigned [10] over the kingdom when he was seven years old, (and that was) on a Sunday in the middle of (the month of) Šaʿabân (in the) lunar (year) [13] four hundred and twenty-seven, which corresponds to (the month of) Baramûdah in the tax-year four hundred and twenty-five. He who

(1) Unidentified.
(2) *i. e.* March-April.
(3) *i. e.* A. D. 1088.
(4) *i. e.* St. John the Little.
(5) *i. e.* St. John Khamê.
(6) *i. e.* 'of our Roman Fathers, Maximus and Domitius', otherwise called 'of Our Lady', commonly known as the Monastery of al-Baramûs.
(7) *i. e.* 'of the Syrians'.
(8) *i. e.* St. Moses the Black.
(9) Egypt.
(10) *Lit.* sat.
(11) A. D. 1036-1094.
(12) *i. e.* Ǧumâdâ II.
(13) *i. e.* of the Hiǧirah.

Christodoulus (Anbâ Ikhrisṭûdulûs) made bishop over the city of Tinnîs [1] and its districts, (who) am unworthy of this venerable rank.

I completed this biography on the twenty-fifth day of Bašans (in) the year seven hundred and sixty-seven of the Righteous Martyrs [2], as far as my knowledge of it reached, that it may be a memorial to me for whomsoever reads it.

Glory (be) to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Mawhûb ibn Manṣûr ibn Mufarriǵ the Alexandrian, the deacon, said : "Since those who have gone before (us) from among the righteous predecessors—may God grant to us the acceptation of their blessing!—have occupied themselves with and written the biographies [3] (of the patriarchs) of the Church and arranged them [4], and explained the affairs of the patriarchs of the Throne of the preacher, my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) the Evangelist at Alexandria, and what befell them, and what God—praised be He!—manifested at their hands in the way of miracles, and (how) He fortified them with patience and zeal and power of faith to guide their flocks and to lead them to the Orthodox Faith and to teach them the Evangelic commandments, as the Lord—Whose Name be magnified!—ordered them; I, the sinner (and) the wretched (one), yearned to collect their (the patriarchs') biographies and to write them down * so that this might be of profit to me and to him who shall read them after me. Then I asked help of God— may His remembrance be exalted!—and I journeyed to the monastery of Saint Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) in the holy Wâdî Habîb [5]. I found (there) the deacon Abba (Ⲁⲃⲃⲁ̄) Ḥabîb Michael (Mîkhâyîl) ibn Badîr (Apatêr) of Damanhûr (ad-Damanhûrî) [6], and there was there the father, Abba Cyril (Anbâ Kîrulluṣ) [7] and with him three bishops, namely, Abba Gabriel (Anbâ Ghabryâl), bishop of al-Buḥairah [8], and Abba Abraham (Anbâ Ibrahâm), bishop of Dibḳwâ [9], and Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyâl), bishop of Nûsâ,

*fol. 160 r°

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(1) Amélineau, p. 507. — (2) *i. e.* A. D. 1051. — (3) *Lit.* biography. — (4) *Lit.* 'it'. — (5) Cf. p. 109, n. 3. — (6) Amélineau, p. 113. — (7) The 67th patriarch. — (8) Amélineau, p. 90. — (9) Cf. *Guide to the Coptic Museum,* vol. II, pp. 237 et 270.

At that time, there was burnt down a church of the Jacobite (Yâʿḳibah) Syrians (Suryân) at Antioch (Anṭâkîah) on account of a quarrel (which) occurred between the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) with regard to the money of the aforementioned church. The aforementioned archon (ἄρχων)[1] went to the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakîah) and gave to him money so that he sent to seal the door of the church, and he took the priests and put[2] them under arrest, and they were afflicted by him for six days until they sent to him (saying) that they had changed their religion[3] and that they would deny their Faith and acknowledge his Faith and be (one) with him on the condition that he should leave them in their ranks (τάξις) and that he should obtain for them their rights from that archon (ἄρχων) who had deprived them of them. When the archon (ἄρχων) heard of this, he anticipated them, and went to the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakîah) and became a Melkite (Malakîâ) for fear lest he (the patriarch) should demand (from him) the money of the church. The priests also became Melkites (Malakîah), and they left (their) belief, and they went to the aforementioned church and plundered it and demolished the sanctuary (haikal), and they took the Offering (ḳurbân)[4] which was in it and cast it into the river[5], and they demolished the church and dominated over the people and afflicted the majority of them until they became Melkites (Malakîah). It is said that those who became Melkites (Malakîah) from among the Syrian (Suryân) Jacobites (Yâʿḳibah) on that occasion (numbered) eleven thousand men. (This) is what I saw and heard, and I have written it to thy brethren, I, the wretched Michael (Mîkhâyîl) of Damrû (Damrâwî)[6], whom the father, Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) ordained deacon, and Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Sanûdah) made priest, and Abba

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[1] *Sic.*, read, perhaps, one of the aforementioned archons.

[2] *Lit.* cast.

[3] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 58.

[4] If Ḳurbân here means the consecrated Elements, then we have an example of the Reserved Sacrament in the Syrian Jacobite Church, otherwise the meaning is Eucharistic loaves.

[5] *Lit.* sea.

[6] Amélineau, p. 505.

it was removed in Hatûr[1]. A man related that there was a copper pot in which (was) water up to the half of it, and they left it uncovered at night, and when it was morning, they found in it forty mice drowned in it and dead. Another related that he sat in the darkness and in his hand was a stick, and he was striking the ground with it so as to chase away the mice from a basket (ḳuffah) in which there was wheat. When it was morning, he found one hundred and fifty mice (which) had been killed by his stick.

After this, there came upon Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) a throbbing in his head, and he was anointed day and night with violet ointment, but he did not find rest from the violent throbbing and a cough. He used to feel a fire, as it were, burning in his head. He also suffered from[2] a pain in his ear, and the pain lasted for three years until the Lord, Whose Name is great, visited him. He went to his rest on the second day[3] of Hatûr in the year seven hundred and thirty-three of the Martyrs[4], being (still) desirous of the world. The duration of his patriarchate was fifteen years and a half. He went to his rest, and I was sitting with him and I closed his eyes with my hands. We assembled to pray over him, and we buried him in the great church at Damrû[5] which Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the patriarch had built, and which this father, Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) completed —God grant to us acceptation of the blessing of his prayers — and he spent on it much money, because he had vowed (to do) this before he became patriarch.

At that time there died Aẓ-Ẓâhir l'-'Izâzi dîni'llah, and there sat (on the throne) after him his son Ma'ad Abû Tamîm al-Mustanṣir bi'llah, Commander of the Faithful[6].

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[1] *i. e.* November-December.

[2] *Lit.* there overtook him.

[3] This was written on the margin of the MS., but has been cut off when the MS. was bound. Text supplied from *MS.* A.

[4] *i. e.* A. D. 1016, a date which, of course, is quite incorrect.

[5] Amélineau, p. 505.

[6] A. D. 1036-1094.

wonder (which) was that two mountains in the district of Paneas (Bânyâs)[1] met together and fire came out from between them at their meeting together, and many trees were burnt, and a large part of the sea dried up so that men took up fish from the land which was uncovered, and they found in it (the land) lead and iron and many things. Then the sea returned to what it was before[2].

In the year seven hundred and fifty-four of the Martyrs[3] the Rîf (ar-Rîf)[4] lacked water[5], and there was no sowing in it, except (in) a small (part)[6]. At the time of the harvest there appeared many mice like locusts in the Rîf (ar-Rîf)[4], and they devoured many sown fields and vineyards. At the winnowing of the heap (of grain) they used to take in their hands chains (zanâğîr) and gourds[7] wherewith to strike against the mice and to protect the grain from them, but they were not able to protect them. They mentioned that one of the sowers turned over the heap in which (were) sixteen ardab (ϲⲣⲧⲱⲃ), and he sat down to protect it from the mice until morning. When it was morning, there was found in it (the heap) six ardab (ϲⲣⲧⲱⲃ). A man had a vineyard and he paid for it thirteen dînârs, and he said : "I will not take (for it) less than fourteen dînârs". * When the morning of the next day came, he did not find in it anything worth a dirham. No one was able in that year to bake biscuits (kaʿk)[8], for fear lest the mice should be kneaded in them, for they used even to gnaw the earthenware pots. There was a drought, and the mice came from God the Exalted. The people used to supplicate God—praised be He!—and they beseeched Him Whose Name is great, to remove this from them, out of His compassion and His kindness, and

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[1] *i. e.* Caesarea Paneas or Caesarea Philippi.

[2] Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû l'-Farag (Barhebraeus)*, London, 1932, vol. 1, p. 194.

[3] A. D. 1037-1038.

[4] Cf. p. 117, n. 6.

[5] *i. e.* the Coptic ϣⲁⲣⲕⲉ.

[6] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[7] Cf. A. K. Bedevian, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names*, Cairo, 1936, No. 1270.

[8] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 474.

As for John (Yû'annis), the monk, who became bishop of al-Faramâ[1], he wrote to him (Šenouti) that he should give to him thirty dînârs every year and make his brother a bishop, and when he (himself) demanded this of him (Šenouti), he would not give anything to him. Then he went out from his presence menacing him and threatening him that he would do to him as he had done to Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the saintly patriarch. When he (Šenouti) learned this from him, he produced a writing of an astonishing anathema the like of which had never been heard of. He had written it against him (John) with his hand on the day he had made him bishop, and he sent it thereupon to the land (χώρα) of Miṣr[2] and to the chiefs of the Christians (Naṣârâ) and to the bishops that they should not receive him nor give to him bread to eat nor give to him anything. In the first year (in which) he[3] was consecrated (patriarch), each of the bishops paid to him two dînârs. When this happened, he (Šenouti) produced this anathema, and in it there were written from the Old (Testament) the anathemas written in the Second Law (*νόμος*)[4] and (those) written in the Psalm one hundred and eight of David (Dâwûd) the Prophet against Judas (Yahûdhâ) Iscariot (Iskharyûṭî), and the aforesaid patriarch wrote the anathema with his hand.

In these days, there was the king Aẓ-Ẓâhir l''Izâzi dîni' llah and his name was Abû'l-Ḥasan[5], and the wazîr at that time (was) 'Alî ibn Aḥmad al-Ǧarǧânî[6], and the administrator (nâẓir) in the Rîf (ar-Rîf)[7] (was) 'Alî ibn Ḥadîd, and he was of great ill-repute. He filled the prisons with people, men and women, so that pregnant women brought forth in the prisons.

There appeared in those days, in the land of Palestine (Filasṭîn) a

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(1) Amélineau, p. 317.

(2) Egypt.

(3) *i. e.* Šenouti.

(4) *i. e.* Deuteronomy, cf. *Deut.* 28, 16-44.

(5) A. D. 1021-1036.

(6) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 136, where, however, this wazîr is called al-Gargarai.

(7) Cf. p. 117, n. 6.

be good before God and the multitudes". He (Šenouti) said to him : "Thus will I do, but bring to me the document [1] which I wrote for thee to acquaint them (the bishops) with it, when they are assembled". He (Bukairah) gave it to him. When it was in his (Šenouti's) hands, he tore it into little pieces [2]. Those who were present marvelled at his deed, and they said : "This is a house built without foundations or rock". The news reached the bishops and they were angry, and they said : "It is as if he makes mock of us and causes us to be brought for a matter, and (then) turns back and cancels it, but we shall not give it up at all". They (the bishops) were assembling in (the Church of) Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah) [3] at Misr [4], and Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) the patriarch was in the Church of Michael (Mîkâyîl) the elect [5]. They sent to him certain of the archons (ἄρχων) saying : "It is not possible for thee to cancel this matter on account of which thou hast brought us together concerning the renunciation of simony (χειροτονία) until what is requisite has been settled". When he saw that they would not give up this matter, he met together with them, and they sat conversing with him from morning till night, and Bukairah (was) with them, and they were not able to stand up against him (Šenouti). Then one of his (Šenouti's) disciples entered in unto him with a piece of paper with him from a man of the party of the Devil (Iblîs)—may God confound him! When he (Šenouti) had learned its contents, he said to the deacon Bukairah : "What hast thou to do with the discussion [6] in this assembly?" Then he (Šenouti) made a sign to his disciples, and they leapt upon him (Bukairah) and they beat him severely [7]. The patriarch rose up and went out, and the council broke up and every-one of them went to his place.

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[1] *Lit.* writing.
[2] *Lit.* a piece (and) a piece.
[3] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-154.
[4] Cairo.
[5] Cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.
[6] *Lit.* speech.
[7] *Lit.* a great beating.

and that thou shouldst not sell the gift of God for money". He (Šenouti) said to him : "From whence shall I have wherewith to spend on myself [1] and my disciples and on what I need in the way of provisions and necessaries, and for what I (have to) give to the Alexandrians and for what I (have to) pay on account of the tax on the lands which I owe?". He (Bukairah) said to him : "We will reckon up all thy debts and all what thou needest, and we will reckon up all what thou receivest from the bishops from the Diyâriâh [2] every year, and if there is any deficiency, we will pay it by instalments, and we will bring it to thee and thou shalt find rest from this evil name which God and the people abhor". He (Šenouti) manifested that he was agreeable (to this) [3], whilst in secret he did not feel (so). He (Bukairah) said to him : "Write thy signature consenting to this". He wrote his signature to this and Bukairah took it and went away.

I, the wretched Michael (Mîkhâyîl), unworthy to be called bishop of Tinnîs [4], was present, and I was at that time a deacon. I rejoiced over this matter and assisted at it. He (Šenouti) made me his scribe, because some of his friends gave an account of me to him, and he took me to write for him. Then he (Šenouti) sent to fetch the bishops to reassure [5] them about this. A certain man from among them entered in unto him and said to him : "What is the object for which thou hast * called us, and why hast thou forsaken simony (χειροτονία) and pretended that thou wilt not take anything from him whom thou wilt make bishop? What (is this) thing that thou hast done with thyself, lo, thou hast hearkened to him who does not wish thee well?" He (Šenouti) changed his mind from (that) hour, and he established in his mind [6] an opposition to Bukairah. He said : "If I do not take simony (χειροτονία) the patriarchate will pass away from me". When Bukairah heard that the bishops were present, he came to him (Šenouti) and received his blessing according to the custom, and he said to him : "O our father, the bishops are present. Act with them as if thou hast done this thing of thyself without that anyone counselled thee (to do) it. This will

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(1) *Lit.* my soul. — (2) Cf. p. 117, n. 3. — (3) *Lit.* that his heart was reassured. — (4) Améliveau, p. 507. — (5) *Lit.* to reassure their hearts. — (6) *Lit.* soul.

to him the money which he had taken from him. I, the wretched Michael (Mîkhâyîl), declare, and the Lord is a witness unto me, that I saw him one day talking to him (Šenouti) about this matter, and he (Šenouti) did not address a single word to him, and he wept and smote his cheeks and he tore off the episcopal garments and cast them down, and he fell down trembling as one dead or as one in whom there is an evil spirit (šaiṭân). We raised him up and we treated him with kindness until he became calm and his reason returned to him. We wrote for him a letter to the two bishops who were neighbours to his see that they should proclaim [1] him in one of the villages of his see.

Another bishop whose name was Elias (Îlyâ) died in a town called Bišnânah [2]. He (Šenouti) sent (and) took his dwelling-place and all that he had. His (Elias') brother presented himself and asked him (Šenouti) and begged him to give him the dwelling-place empty and to take all that was in it. He did not pay any attention to him, and (thereby) obliged him to embrace Al-Islâm, and he took the dwelling-place and all that was in it. This was amongst his (Šenouti's) vexations and his deeds which it is not right to record.

When the inhabitants of Alexandria demanded from him (Šenouti) the five hundred dînârs in the second year, he refused (to pay them) to them. They went and complained about him to the wâlî. He (Šenouti) himself went and implored [3] certain of the archons (ἄρχων) until they (the archons) took away the signature for the five hundred dînârs from the Alexandrians, and he wrote for them in place of it (the five hundred dînârs) (a signature) for three hundred and fifty dînârs.

Buḳairah the deacon, the owner of the cross, was present at the drawing up of this agreement, and he reconciled the patriarch (to it), and he said to him : "Hearken now unto what I say to thee, for it is agreeable to God the Exalted and the people, and they will rejoice about it". He (Šenouti) said to him : "Whatever thou advisest, I will do it, and I will not act contrary to it". He (Buḳairah) said to him : "It is essential that thou shouldst forsake this simony (χειροτονία) which thou takest,

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[1] *Lit.* consecrate. — [2] Unidentified. — [3] *Lit.* threw himself before.

* and thou comparest us to the Jews (Yahûd)". They rose up and went forth in anger saying : "There is no salvation in thy kingdom". In truth, there was no salvation in it, since first he consecrated (as) bishop of Banâ [1] the aforementioned (Raphael) and took from him six hundred dînârs, and (then) he consecrated after him Badîr [2], archpriest (ἀρχιπαπᾶς) of Asyûṭ [3], bishop, and took from him much money. The inhabitants of Asyûṭ [3] prevented him from entering in unto them for three years on account of the money which he paid, since they adhered to the Canons (κανών), and said : "It is not allowed to an overseer [4] or to a priest who makes himself [5] worthy for God to pay for this money or to take anything from him whom he ordains to the service of God, as the saying of Christ through His exalted mouth to His disciples, when He commanded them to baptize the nations and to announce to them the good tidings of the Gospel for their salvation. He (Christ) said to them the well known commandment in the Gospel and He said to them at the end of it : 'Freely ye have received, freely give' [6], that is, ye have received this grace without a price, demand not then from him to whom ye give it a price".

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The patriarchs of the Copts (Ḳibṭ) and their fathers did not cease from acting according to this commandment up to the time of the oppression by the authorities of the Muslims from Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn [7] up to the days of al-Ḥâkim [8], (in addition to) other things which, if we were to describe them, the description would be long. Necessity caused them to do what they did in this (matter) on account of what was demanded of them in the way of money and of what they undertook in the way of burdens.

Let us return now to the account of the affair of the bishop of Asyûṭ [3]. When they prevented him from entering in unto them, he returned to the patriarch Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) and demanded from him the money or that he should confirm to him the bishopric. But he (Šenouti) was not able to do anything for him, and he did not return

[1] Amélineau, p. 84. — [2] *i. e.* Apatêr. — [3] Amélineau, p. 464. — [4] a literal rendering of ἐπίσκοπος. — [5] *Lit.* his soul. — [6] *Matt.* 10, 8 *. — [7] A. D. 868-884. — [8] A. D. 996-1021.

at interest, and he wrote a document, whereby he obliged himself [1] to pay to them for that (sum) in almonds (lûz) at the rate of one and a third ardab (ⲉⲣⲧⲱⲃ) a dînâr. Thereupon, he (Šenouti) consecrated him (bishop) and he remained two years in his see, and he died, and the patriarch paid the money to the Alexandrians.

He (Šenouti) annulled what had been arranged with him that he should not take simony (*χειροτονία*). He loved money and collected a great amount of it and gave it to his family. He was a lover of the glory of this world.

When he had departed from Alexandria, and they had come with him to Miṣr [2] to proclaim him [3], he descended at the church of Michael (Mîkâyîl) the elect which is in the Island of Miṣr [4], and there came to him a multitude of priests and archons (*ἄρχων*) to be blessed by him, and there was with them the deacon Buḳairah ar-Rašîdî, the owner of the cross. When they had saluted him and had received his blessing, they sat down. He (Šenouti) said to Buḳairah : "The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble" [5]. Buḳairah said to him : "What is the meaning of this speech, O our father?" He said to him : "I solicited the see of Miṣr [2], but it (the see) did not accept me, and asked for Philotheus (Fîlâtâûs). Lo, the Lord has made me king without thy choice". The archons (*ἄρχων*) became angry with him and they looked one at the other, and they started to get up. Buḳairah said to him : "These words David (Dâwûd) the prophet said in the psalm concerning the Lord Christ alone, since He reigned over the Jews (Yahûd) without their desiring that He should be king over them, because He came for the salvation of the world. Lo, now thou comparest thyself [6] to the Lord

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[1] *Lit.* his soul.

[2] Cairo.

[3] *Lit.* consecrate him.

[4] The Island of Miṣr (Rôḍa) جزيرة مصر = the *νῆσος βαβυλῶνος* of the Aphrodito Papyri, cf. J. Maspero et G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte,* in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire,* 1914, pp. 67-68, also cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.,* p. 112.

[5] *Ps.* 99, 1 *.

[6] *Lit.* thy soul.

with which I may live, since the see of al-Faramâ [1] of which thou wilt make me (bishop) has nothing; and thou shalt consecrate my brother to another see. He (Šenouti) wrote his signature concerning this.

The bishops remained some days after this (and) were meeting together, but their opinion did not agree as to whom to consecrate. Everyone of them mentioned one of his relatives or a friend of his with regard to being patriarch, until a week had passed [2]. Then John (Yû'annis), the aforesaid monk, said to them : "Until when will this sitting of yours (last)? Everyone of you seeks (to satisfy) his own desire, but there is not (anyone) save Šenouti (Šanûdah), a saintly and learned man, who has read the Scriptures, and (is a man of) understanding". He described him and was profuse in his description (of him). The bishops assisted him, and they sent to bring Šenouti (Šanûdah), and they made him hegoumenos (*ἡγούμενος*), and they journeyed with him to Alexandria. The Alexandrians assembled to arrange something that concerned them. They took his (Šenouti's) signature for five hundred dînârs every year (which) they used to spend for the management of their churches, and they took his signature that he would not take from anyone simony (*χειροτονία*), nor ask for the gift of Christ a dînâr or a dirham or more than that. They forced him before his consecration (to pay) as dues, according to their custom, to the wâlî one hundred dînârs. When they consecrated him, and he had not wherewith to pay to the wâlî or (money) for himself also, certain of them said to him : "Art thou better than thy fathers who used to take simony (*χειροτονία*) and paid with it for this and other things?" This suited him. The see of Banâ [3] was vacant, and there was a man there whose name was Justus (Yustus) [4], and he had a nephew (son of his sister) whose name was Raphael (Rafâyîl). He arranged with him (Šenouti) about the see for six hundred dînârs, but he had not anything except half and a quarter of a dînâr, and he went to certain Muslim people, and he borrowed that (sum) from them

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[1] Cf. p. 230, n. 6.
[2] *Lit.* until after a week.
[3] Amélineau, p. 84.
[4] This name is written without diacritical points.

known as D???â?h [1]. Some of the bishops preferred him on account of his learning, but he was an old man (šaikh), and they remained perplexed as to whom they should consecrate, him or another than him. One of the bishops saw a speaker who spoke to him in a [2] dream : "The first who enters to-morrow by the door of the church and kisses the bodies [3], seize him, for he (shall be) the patriarch". He awoke immediately, and he informed the brethren, the bishops, of this. When

*fol. 158 r° * it was day, Šenouti (Šanûdah) entered, and they seized him immediately. It happened before this, in the night of the aforementioned day, that he (Šenouti) saw in a [2] dream Peter (Buṭrus) the Apostle, and John (Yûḥannâ) the Evangelist, and it was as if they both delivered to him keys. When he awoke, he spoke to the monk who was with him, and said : "I saw in my dream so and so". The monk said to him : "The patriarchate shall be thine".

It is said that this Šenouti (Šanûdah) was desirous of this (the patriarchate), and that he had solicited the bishopric of Miṣr [4], but that he had nothing wherewith to pay for this, and they had rejected him and had made Philotheus (Fîlâtâûs) bishop of the see of Miṣr [4].

Before they invested him (Šenouti) with the patriarchal robe, it was arranged between him [5] and the bishops that he should consecrate for them John (Yû'annis), the monk, who had calumnated the father Zacharias (Zakhâryâs) to al-Ḥâkim, bishop of al-Faramâ [6], on account of their fear of his tongue. They went with him (John) to his (Šenouti's) cell (*κέλλίον*), and he (Šenouti) made an obeisance (*μετάνοια*) to him (John) to assist him in everything, and he treated him as a brother of his. He (John) said to him : "If thou wishest me to assist thee, write for me thy signature that thou wilt give me every year thirty dînârs

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[1] This name is without diacritical points دكاه, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 347 and 362.

[2] *Lit.* his.

[3] *i. e.* the bodies of SS. Macarius, etc., cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 363 ff.

[4] Cairo.

[5] *Lit.* between him and between.

[6] Amélineau, p. 317.

who is to be elected patriarch three thousand dînârs, but we have dispensed with this out of honour for you, and what ye do after this, (let it be) what is pleasing to God—praised be He! –(even) as it is done with us at Baghdad (Baghdâd), and this is, that when they wish to advance a man to the patriarchate, they assemble in the church, and they select from those who are in the monasteries a hundred men, and from the hundred, fifty, and from the fifty, twenty-five, and from the twenty-five, ten, and from the ten, three, and they write the names of the three on three pieces of paper, and on a fourth they write the Name of the Lord, and they (the pieces of paper) are covered with wax (and made into) balls [1], and they are placed on the altar (haikal), and they (the clergy) pray and celebrate the Liturgy. After the prayer and the Liturgy (ḳuddâs), they bring a little child from among their male children in whom there is no sin, and he stretches out his hand and takes one of them (the pieces of paper). If there is on it the name of (one of) the three, they consecrate him patriarch, but if there is on it the Name of the Lord, they know that (there is) not among the three he who is fit, and they write other three names, and they do not cease from doing (this) until God—praised be He!—has chosen him whom He has selected, and his name is revealed. Then they consecrate him patriarch. Thus it is necessary that ye should do here". They marvelled at his wisdom and his understanding and they thanked him and prayed for him and departed.

The bishops assembled and with them were the superiors of Wâdî Habîb [2], but they did not do as the wazîr had said to them, but they sat down to think about the people whom they might select to consecrate one of them. There was mentioned a man who had become a monk at fourteen years of age and whose name was Šenouti (Šanûdah). He had become a priest in the skênê (σκηνή) of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) [3], (and) he had knowledge of the Scriptures. He was a native of Tilbânat ʿAdî [4] and had become a monk in the dwelling-place (ⲙⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲓ)

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 118.
[2] Cf. p. 113, n. 4.
[3] Cf. p. 118, n. 3.
[4] Cf. Aziz Surial Atiya, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 123.

Aš-Šaikh ʿAlam al-Kafâh Abû Yaḥyâ Iṣṭafan ibn Mînâ at-Tûrîǧî [1], the scribe, related that he went with his workman whose name was Zakîr to Damrû [2], and they saluted the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the patriarch—God grant to us (acceptation) of the blessing of his prayer! The father went out walking, without a beast, to Ṭumbârah [3] so that he might salute a Nubian (Nûbî) man, a monk, whose name was Šišîh, and he (the patriarch) received his blessing before he blessed him (the monk), and he honoured him with much honour and humbled himself before him and venerated him. When he had departed from him, those who were with him, asked him and said to him : "What is the reason of thy respect for the state of this (one), and for humbling thyself before him, and for giving him precedence over thee in the blessing,—thou, the patriarch of the land (κλίμα)?" He said to them : "This (man) al-Ḥâkim cast together with me to the lions after they had starved them, and the lions were obedient to him, and licked his feet before mine [4].

Šenouti (Šânûtîûs) the patriarch, and he is the sixty-fifth of (their) number.

When Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), the patriarch, went to his rest, certain people solicited the patriarchate, and they hoped to obtain it through [5] the Sulṭân, and to force the bishops to elect them. When Buḳairah, the scribe, of Rašîd (ar-Rašîdî) [6], the owner of the cross, in whom was zeal for God, the Exalted, learned of this, he collected some good people and he went to the wazîr ʿAlî ibn Aḥmad and talked with him about this. He was a man who understood and loved the Christians (Naṣârâ), and he said to Buḳairah and to those who were with him : "It is obligatory (to pay) to the Royal Treasury (Bait al-Mâl) for him

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[1] The Arabic is without diacritical points, sic. ورحى.

[2] Amélineau, p. 505.

[3] Cf. Aziz Surial Atiya, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[4] *Lit.* me.

[5] *Lit.* by the hand of.

[6] Amélineau, p. 404.

in a sâtirah [1] of tamarisk [2] resembling a barrel [3], after he had put into the half of it salt, and had set his face towards the East, and had said to him : "O my son, continue in prayer and entreaty and weeping, and repent, that thou return not again to sin". He used to feed him after three days and three nights with a little bread (measured out) with a balance and to give him water to drink also (measured out) with a balance until the end of fifteen days, and he came to him to visit him and he prayed for him. At the end of three weeks, he visited him again, and prayed for him, * and at the end of the month, he came to him and examined his body, and he found the leprosy had diminished, and he was reassured [4]. Then he announced to him the good news about this. Then at the end of forty days, he came to him and he looked at him attentively and found that he was clean and that nothing of the leprosy remained in his body. He rejoiced with him and he bathed him with hot water, and he anointed him and prayed for him, and he said to him : "O my son, thou art cured and thou knowest what thou hast vowed to thyself [5]—return not to sin— and think not that I caused thee to fast three days (and) then after them (another) three days, and that I myself broke my fast, but—as the Name of Christ liveth—I did not feed myself during these forty days, except as I fed thee, and I did not break my fast except at the time at which I caused thee to break thy fast (and) likewise (with) the same (amount of) bread and water with which I fed thee. Then he blessed him and commanded him to depart to his dwelling, and he returned to his blessed wife, rejoicing and happy.

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[1] Cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* Bk. 1, Part IV, pp. 1311 and 1359 under كَجِيل (كَجِيلَة) and سَطل respectively, with the meaning 'a large, or big, bucket or pail'. This word came into Arabic through the Greek σίτλα also σίκλα, cf. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon,* New-York, 1900, p. 990, which in turn came from the Latin situla and its derivative sitella, cf. N. Theil, *Grand dictionnaire de la langue latine,* Paris, 1862, t. 2, pp. 270 and 271.

[2] For طرفاء, cf. A. K. Bedevian, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names,* Cairo, 1936, p. 575.

[3] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 50.

[4] *Lit.* his soul was reassured.

[5] *Lit.* thy soul.

said : "O my father, this (is) through thy prayers". He (the patriarch) said to him : "On the contrary, (it is) through thy faith and thy prayer". He (the patriarch) gave him the right to officiate, and he (the bishop) celebrated the Liturgy that day. He (the patriarch) said to him : "Truly, thou art more worthy than I (to celebrate) the Liturgy (ḳuddâs) so that we may receive thy blessing, after this great grace has been bestowed upon thee". All those present glorified God Who performs miracles.

There was a man, a deacon, a native of Minyatî Milîğ [1] (who was) very well known. He quarrelled with his wife, and she was pure (and) pious. He went out from her, and was filled with satanic (šaiṭânî) fury, and he went (and) copulated with an effeminate man and fell with him into sin. Then he returned to his dwelling, and his wife became reconciled to him. When it was night, he sat down on his bed (firâš), and took off his garment to lie down to sleep. His wife saw his body and it all shone with leprosy. She rose up and was full of fear, and she said to him : "What (is it) that thou has done, so that thou hast leprosy? Look at thy body". He looked attentively at his body and he wept bitterly, and he said to her : "O my sister, when I quarrelled with thee to-day, Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) played a trick on me, and I did so and so". Then he struck his face, and he plucked out the hair of his beard and he increased (his) weeping. His good (and) pious wife said to him, weeping over him : "Thou hast sinned, O my brother, and hast erred. Hasten to the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the Saint, and take hold of his feet and cling to them, until he beseeches God on thy behalf, and thou shalt be healed". He rose up early and rode his beast and went to Damrû [2] and cast himself [3] before [4] the patriarch, and he increased (his) weeping and (his) entreating, and he clung to his feet and confessed to him what had happened to him. He (the patriarch) said to him : "O my son, is it in thee to stand firm in labour before the Lord Christ?" He said to him : "O my father, judge me according to what thou wilt, and I will do it with God's assistance to me, and through the blessing of thy prayer". He took him into a dark house that he had, and he left him standing

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[1] Unidentified. — [2] Cf. p. 224, n. 5. — [3] *Lit.* his soul. — [4] *Lit.* between the hands.

lady Mary (Mart Maryam) the Virgin, the Mother of God the Word. That church was in a village called Tmai [1]. He entered it in the morning (ghadâh) of a Monday, and there was in it an aged priest whose name was Faraḥ. He (the bishop) said to his disciple : "When it is Wednesday evening (ʿašiyah) [2], visit me here, and if thou find me dead, help this priest to bury me here, and if thou find me alive, I shall speak to thee". The disciple went away from him. He (the bishop) stood before [3] the picture of the Mistress, weeping (and) entreating on Monday, and the night of it (Monday), Tuesday, the day and the night of it (Tuesday), Wednesday, the day of it (Wednesday), and he was asking for her intercession, entreating her to examine that leprosy and to remove it from him. When it was the ninth hour of the day of Wednesday, he (the bishop) became dazed from fasting and fatigue, and he leaned against the wall on which was the picture, and he was dozing. Then he saw the hand of this picture, as if it wiped his body, and he woke up and was cured of his sickness. He summoned the priest and informed him of the news, and asked him to look at his whole body, and he (the priest) saw it, and it had become clean and free from leprosy. He rejoiced and thanked the Lord, the Saviour, and his weeping was grievous. Then the disciple came to him at the end of the day and he (the bishop) said to him : "O my son, the Lord Christ has granted (me) through the intercession of the Pure Mistress, his Mother, health (again). It is necessary that I remain in this place three days more to thank the Lord for what he has bestowed upon me. Come to me with a beast on Saturday". Then he partook of a little bread and water, and he remained there three days, as he had said. The disciple came to him on the evening (ʿašiyah) [2] of Saturday, and he (the bishop) went to Damrû [4] and he entered in to the father Zacharias (Zakhâryâs) on the morning (ghadâh) of Sunday, while he was in the church, and he made known to him the news, and he

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[1] Amélineau, p. 500.

[2] *i. e.* the time between the Prayer of al-Maghrib and the Prayer of al-ʿAtamat.

[3] *Lit.* between the hands of.

[4] Cf. p. 224, n. 5.

I said : "O my father, I am blind and feeble, whilst they see. I beg of them to give me something as alms, but they do not (do so)". He said to me : "If the Lord Christ open thine eyes, what wilt thou do?" I said : "I will serve thee until the day of my death". He (the patriarch) took with his hand water from that basin and said : "The Lord Christ Who made mud with His spittle on the ground and anointed with it the eyes of the completely [1] blind and said to him : 'Go, wash both of them in the source of Siloam (Silwân) and they will be opened' [2], may He open these two eyes of thine", (and) he sprinkled the water on my eyes and they were opened, as thou [3] seest. I have served him till now, and I shall serve him also until I die beneath his feet".

Trustworthy (people) of the Faithful informed me of many miracles concerning the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), among which how the body of Abba Mercurius (Anbâ Markûrah), bishop of Tilbânah [4], shone with leprosy, and an awful whiteness appeared in him. He came to the father, Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), at Damrû [5] on a Sunday, and the *fol. 157 r° aforementioned father said to him with humility * and quietness and a sore heart : "O my brother Abba (Ⲁⲃⲃⲁ̄) Mercurius (Markûrah), I am a partner with thee in what thou sufferest [6], and thou knowest that God said to Moses (Mûsâ) : 'Thou shalt not have regard to the face of anyone in judgment' [7]. The priesthood [8] shall not be valid, except after the Lord Christ has removed from thee this whiteness [9], for it is a defilement, as the Scripture calls it". He (Mercurius) wept and said : "Help me through thy prayer, O my father, the saint". He departed from him and he went to a church in his see (dedicated) to the name of the Pure Mistress, my

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[1] *Lit.* blind.

[2] Cf. *John* 9, 6-7.

[3] *i. e.* Abraham, bishop of Damietta.

[4] Cf. H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte,* Le Caire, 1943, p. 27.

[5] Amélineau, p. 505.

[6] *Lit.* thou art in it.

[7] *Deutr.,* 1, 17.

[8] *i. e.* the functions of the priesthood.

[9] *i. e.* leprosy.

father Abba (Ἀββᾶ) John (Yûḥannâ) really raise the dead?" He described to me all what I have mentioned in this biography.

As for his story about Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), bishop of Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1], I heard it from his mouth in the year in which the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) died in Miṣr[2]. These two patriarchs experienced great trial and labour and they received a glorious crown through their endurance and their confession of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith before the dissidents; Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ), before the king of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) and their patriarch and his communion, and Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), before al-Ḥâkim, king of the Muslims and the inhabitants of the kingdom.

Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), the aforementioned bishop of Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1] said: "I witnessed great miracles by the father, the saint John (Yûḥannâ), the patriarch, while I was with him, among which I saw one of his disciples[3], and it was said to me that he had been blind and that Abba (Ἀββᾶ) John (Yûḥannâ) had opened his eyes. I asked the disciple with an obeisance (μετάνοια) to recount to me his story. He said to me: "I was blind and I used to sit in the church by the basin of water from which the people covered their communion (ḳurbân)[4]. I used to lay hold on the garments of those whose speech I recognized so that they might give me as alms some of their money. I pulled one day the garment of one of the brethren, and he went and complained about me to the father. He (the patriarch) had just finished communicating the people, and he gave them the peace[5] and washed his hands[6] and came out to me. He said to me: "O my son, what is this matter with thee that thou dost harm the people and tear their garments?"

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(1) Amélineau, p. 116.

(2) Cairo.

(3) *Lit.* a disciple of his disciples.

(4) Cf. O. H. E. Burmester, *The Canons of Christodoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria,* in *Muséon,* t. XLV, pp. 78 and 83-84.

(5) *i. e.* the prayer ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉϯϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ etc., cf. the *Book of the Holy Euchologion,* Cairo (1902), pp. 434 and 146.

(6) At the end of the Divine Liturgy the celebrant washes his hands and then sprinkles the congregation with the water.

place in the church and thou wilt find there a bishop from the lands of Miṣr [1], standing with the monks in the garb of a monk, and bring him to me". This was a wonder similar to what befell Saint Basil (Bâsîlîûs) the Great Doctor, Bishop of Caesarea (Ḳaisârîah) in Cappadocia (Ḳabâdûḳîah) with the Saint, my lord Ephraem (Mârî Afrâm) the Syrian (as-Suryânî). The disciple went thither, but he did not recognize him on account of the change of his attire. Then he returned to the father and said to him : "I did not find him". He said to him : "Yea, indeed, he is standing there and with him are two strange monks". The disciple went back to the place and said to the three : "Who of you is the bishop?" One of the two monks said : "He is this (one)". Then he said to him : "The father calls thee". He came with him to him, and when he had entered in to him and had prostrated himself before him [2], the patriarch raised him and said to him : "Why hast thou fled from the grace which the Lord Christ has bestowed on thee?" He said to him : "I am not fleeing (from it), but I have come to see thee and to receive thy blessing". He said to him : "Yea, indeed, thou art fleeing from much speaking and from the fatigue which thou hast experienced", and he spoke to him words that reassured his heart. He remained with him for a time and he sent him back to his see with honour.

There sat on the Throne of Antioch (Anṭâkîah), after this saint John (Yûḥannâ), the son of his brother, and they called him John (Yûḥannâ) the patriarch. God grant to us (acceptation) of the intercession and blessing of both of them altogether.

His [3] disciple informed me, I, Michael (Mîkhâyîl), the writer of this biography, about this, when I went to the Throne of Antioch (Anṭâkîah), after I had become bishop of the see of the city of Tinnîs [4] and its districts, and with me there was Abba Gabriel (Anbâ Ghabryâl) bishop of Ṣâ [5] with the Synodical (συνοδικά) Letter which Abba Christodoulos (Anbâ Ikhrisṭûdulûs), patriarch of Alexandria, wrote to Abba (Ⲁⲃⲃⲁ) John (Yûḥannâ) the aforementioned, in the year seven hundred and sixty-five of the Martyrs [6]; for I asked this disciple and said to him : "Yea, did the

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[1] Egypt. — [2] *Lit.* between his hands. — [3] *i. e.* the former John the patriarch. — [4] Amélineau, p. 507. — [5] Amélineau, p. 405. — [6] *i. e.* A. D. 1048-1049.

death from the dissidents, lest they should do with it what they wished. Then he said within himself[1] 'yet, let God's will be (done)'. The patriarch knew in the spirit his (the disciple's) thought, and he said to him : "Why doest thou have doubts concerning my body? I believe that God is able to do all things". After three days, he went to his rest, as he said. When the monks learned of this, they assembled that they might bury him. The Superior of the monastery was away. The king sent to call the patriarch, but he found him dead. The messengers quarrelled with the monks who wished to bury him, and they prevented them (the messengers) from burying him there, and they said : "Take this heretic (*αἱρετικός*) from the midst of the Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*)". They took him and they brought him to the place of a rock, and they dug out a grave, and buried him far from them (the monks). As for the messengers of the king, they took the disciple and the man who came from Constantinople (al-Ḳusṭanṭînîah) to visit the patriarch and wrote to him the letter, and they returned to the king and they announced to him his (John's) death. He (the king) set them both free, for he had suffered torment in his dream that night on account of the saintly patriarch. His going to rest in banishment was in the year seven hundred and forty-seven of the Righteous Martyrs[2]. God Whose praise is great and Who is exalted did not hide from him anything of what he wished to know, on account of his sanctity and his purity.

It happened that, before his (John's) departure to the lands of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), there fled to him Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), bishop of Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[3] on account of what had befallen him through his people, and of what had reached him (in the way of news) about his (John's) sanctity. He went and entered into his monastery, and he was clothed[4] in wretched attire in the garb of monks with a white hood (ḳalansuwah) so that he might conceal his state, and he stood in a corner of the church* in the midst of the congregation of the monks. It was a Sunday and the father Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ), was inside the sanctuary (*ἱερατεῖον*). He said to his disciple : "Go to such and such a

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[1] *Lit.* his soul. — [2] *i. e.* A. D. 1030-1031. — [3] Amélineau, p. 116. — [4] *Lit* and upon him.

(thus) for three days, Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) tormenting him. Then he died an evil death.

There was in Constantinople (Ḳusṭanṭînîah) a man who loved Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ), and he came thither to visit him, but he was not able to reach him. Then he wrote to him a letter and went to a village near to the monastery, and he met in it a man known to him, and he said to him : "I desire greatly that thou shouldst take this letter and deliver it to the patriarch secretly without that anyone knows about thee". He gave to him a dînâr and the letter, and there was not anything in it except an enquiry after him (John) and an excuse to him that he had not been able to reach him so as to visit him, and asking from him a blessing[1] to place in his dwelling. He took the letter and went with it to the chief (of the village), as did Judas (Yûdas). He sent some people to the owner of the letter and they beat him and imprisoned him. The patriarch heard his weeping and his speech in Syriac (Suryânî) and he called to his disciple and he desired to know of him the news, and he informed him of all what had happened. The patriarch marvelled and was grieved and sent to him to console him, and he said to him : "Let not thy bosom be contracted. After three days, the Lord will remove all this (from thee)". The disciple inquired about the meaning of the saying. Then he said to him confidentially : "After three days, God will take me to Him. Bury me not in the cemetery of the heretics (αἱρετικός), but place me in a place alone, for the day on which I shall fall asleep, the king will send (a messenger) to bring me out, and he will find me having gone forth from this body. He (the messenger) will take thee and the other man to the king, and he (the king) will set you two free. I charge thee to say to the people that they let not him who comes after me dwell in the lands of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), but that he should dwell in Amid[2] or in the city of Edessa (ar-Ruhâ)"[3]. His disciple was considering how he could save his (John's) body after his

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[1] Any sanctified object.

[2] Cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islâm,* t. 1, pp. 1009-1010 under the Turkish name Diyār-Bekr.

[3] Cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islâm,* t. 3, pp. 1062-1066, under the name Orfa.

they professed their (the Melkite) Faith, and then he should set them free. There were among them two aged metropolitans (muṭrân), and when they learned this, they acknowledged the Council of Chalcedon (Khalḳidûniyah), and they thought that they would remain in their former rank (τάξις), but the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakîah) did not leave them in it, but made them both subdeacons (ὑποδιάκων). The two others (metropolitans) held fast to their faith, and they did not agree to what the king wished. The king strove, but he was not able to turn them from their Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith. Then the king caused Abba (Aϐϐᾶ) John (Yûḥannâ), the patriarch, to be brought, and he promised him great honours and advancement. He said to him : "Lo, I am standing before thee[1] and (am) under thy authority. Thy power is over my body, do with it what thou thinkest (fit) and as thou wilt. Kill me, but I will never forsake my Orthodox Faith". Then he commanded him (John) to be exiled to a monastery on an island near to Constantinople (Ḳusṭanṭînîah). Between him and it[2] (there was) a distance of one day. He did not allow (anyone) with him except one disciple to minister unto him. He (John) had the illness of gout (niḳris) in his feet, and he remained there two years. * There was in that island an anchorite of the Melkites (Malakîah), and he commanded the monks who were with him to go every day to the patriarch, the saint John (Yûḥannâ), and to curse him and to spit in his face, and he placed an anathema upon them if they did not do this every day. They used to do this to him (John) during his stay there. There was in the monastery a youth, a servant, and he used to insult the patriarch still more. It happened that, whenever the disciple heated water for the feet of the patriarch in order that he might thereby find ease, that youth used to cast ash into it. The disciple used to weep, but the patriarch used to console him and say to him : "O my son, God will not forget us". The youth persisted in this deed, and an evil (Šaiṭân) spirit leapt upon him and strangled him and belaboured him and tormented him. They brought him to the elder (šaikh) Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ) foaming and striking with his head and gnashing with his teeth. He remained

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[1] *Lit.* between thy hands. — [2] *Lit.* between him and between it.

to the patriarch : they have informed me that thou art a saint of God. Now I desire nought of thee save that thou shouldst acknowledge the Council of Chalcedon (Khalḳidûniyah), and I shall be happy[1], and I will exalt thee and honour thee and give thee the authority over all the lands near to thee". He (John) said to him : "O my master, the king, may the Lord preserve thy kingdom and thy authority! He knows that I do not cease from prayer and supplication for thy powerful kingdom, as the Holy Scriptures command us, 'so that our life may be in quietness and peace'[2]. Thy authority has not the right to force anyone to forsake his religion, as we have two kings, namely, the king of Abyssinia (Ḥabašah) and the king of Nubia (Nûbah), and they do not force anyone of the people of your religion who is dwelling among them to change his faith. Now I beseech the Lord Christ to establish thy kingdom without disturbance and to preserve all of us according as has been revealed to him". The interpreter interpreted all that he said except (about) the two kings, the Abyssinian (Ḥabašî) and the Nubian (Nûbî), for he added to this and he said : "We have two kings greater than thou", and this (was because) the bishop of Malaṭya (Malaṭîah)[3] had bribed the interpreter with money and had come to an agreement with him to turn the speech against him (John), whereby the king would be enraged against him (John), even though with a single word. When the king heard (this), his wrath and his rage and his imprecation(s) became intense, and he cursed his (John's) belief and his congregation and he said : "Ye are dissidents in truth". He commanded that he (John) should be returned to (his) confinement. There was one of the disciples of the saint John (Yûḥannâ) who knew the language, and he was his interpreter. When they came out, he informed him (John) of what the interpreter had done by turning the speech against him.

When the morrow was come, the king caused his patriarch and his congregation to be brought and he consulted them about what he should do. They advised him that he (John) should be banished to the islands which were near to him, he (John) and those who were with him until

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[1] *Lit.* my soul will be happy. — [2] Cf. 1 *Tim.* 2, 2*. — [3] Cf. p. 211, n. 2.

three monks, disciples of his, till they reached the dwelling of the king at Constantinople (Ḳusṭanṭîniah). They put him in confinement for some days till they had informed the king of his arrival. Then the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakîah) appointed a free day for him (John) and for himself and for his bishops and for the bishop of Malaṭya (Malaṭîah)[1] who had complained about the patriarch John (Yûḥannâ). They adorned themselves with hardness of heart and they put on garments of silk and sat upon decorated thrones and they ordered * the saint John (Yûḥannâ) to be brought to them. He came to them in wretched garments, and he and those who were with him stood before them, and they did not cause them to be seated nor did they salute them, but they occupied themselves with reading, while they were standing for a time so that their bosoms became contracted. Thereupon, John (Yûḥannâ) the saint spake in the soft Syrian (Suryânî) tongue and said : "Which[2] of the Canons (*κανών*) of the Church bids you to sit on your thrones and cause us to stand before you[3] like assistants?" They said to him : "Thou and thy congregation are dissidents, and it is not fitting that ye sit with us as Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*) bishops". He said to them : "If we are dissidents as ye say, let us sit with you and let us talk about the Faith, and he to whom God shall give the victory shall be victorious, if we (can) find him who judges between us in truth and not by the authority of the kingdom". The bishop of Malaṭya (Malaṭîah)[1] had agreed with the patriarch of the Melkites (Malakîah) and his bishops that they would not dispute with him (John) or his bishops, and he had said to them : "They are very learned. If ye dispute with them, ye will be put to shame before them, but overcome them by speech, by the power of the kingdom". Then they reviled them and they said to them : "Ye are heretics (*αἱρετικός*). We ought not to speak to you", and they said to the attendants : "Take them (away) till tomorrow". When the morrow was come, the king caused them all to be brought and he made them stand before him[4], and he appointed an interpreter for them[5]. The king said to the interpreter : "Say

*fol. 155 v°

[1] Cf. p. 211, n. 2. — [2] *Lit.* Which Canon of the Canons. — [3] *Lit.* between your hands. — [4] *Lit.* between his hands. — [5] *Lit.* between him and between them.

and without shame, because he used to see the veneration of the people for this saintly father and how they ministered unto him on account of the strength of their faith in him, and he observed his entry into the city in the finest and most becoming manner. The aforesaid bishop used to go in and to go out (of the city) and no one paid attention to him or asked about him. His heart was sore with envy, and jealousy was engendered in him, and he was enraged against him (John)[1]. He went to Constantinople (Ḳusṭanṭînîah) and complained about this saintly father, Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ), to the king and said to him : "In thy kingdom there is a man, a patriarch, who encroaches on thy rights, and the people obey him more than thee. They are Jacobites (Yaʿâḳibah) and they adhere to this dissident Jacobite (Yaʿḳûbî), and he also prays for kings other than thee and more than for thee. A reputation is falsely ascribed to him that he raised the dead, and on account of this the hearts of the multitude are inclined towards him. Banish him now from thy kingdom, and cause him to be brought hither, and thy holiness shall judge between me and him"[2]. The king sent to bring him (John), and the bishop sat in the city of the patriarch with its patriarch. They were assembled to arrange about what they should do with the saint. The messengers found him (John) in Malaṭya (Malaṭîah)[3]. When the Faithful were informed of the news, all of them assembled and said : "We will die, all of us, but he (John) shall not be taken from us, but we will give ourselves[4] in exchange (for him). All that we possess, it is for thee!". He forbade them (to do) this. He spake to them soft words[5] that 'he who resisteth the king sinneth, and he is as he who resisteth the ordinance of God'[6]. "What should the king be able to do (to me) other than to kill my body, and if he does this to me, there will be a crown prepared for me. If he speaks to me on account of the Faith, it will be a contest and an honour for me. Thus shall I be like my Lord Who was reviled and slain". With this (speech) and what was similar to it he spake to them till they left him. He journeyed with the messengers and there were with him four bishops and

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[1] *Lit.* and rage against him. — [2] *Lit.* between me and between him. — [3] Cf. p. 211, n. 2. — [4] *Lit.* souls. — [5] *Lit.* speech. — [6] Cf. *Rom.* 13, 2 *.

populated by Christians (Naṣârâ) than it. There were in it fifty-six churches filled with priests and many Syrian (Suryân) Orthodox (ὀρθό-δοξος) people, and their number was sixty thousand Christians (Naṣrânî) who bore arms, if they wished (to do so) or needed (to do) this, besides women [1].

When I, the wretched Michael (Mîkhâyîl), and I, Gabriel (Ghabriyâl), bishop of Ṣâ [2], reached this patriarch, the saint (John), with the Synodical (συνοδικά) Letter from Christodoulus (Ikhrisṭûdûlus), when he was seated on the Throne of Alexandria and its districts, we observed in him (John) great sanctity. When we parted from him, he honoured us and sent the son of his brother with us so that we might see the city and the people who were in it. He said to us : "I have no (city) like to it". We saw in it a number of Melkite (Malakîah) Chalcedonians (Khalḳidûnîîn) who had a metropolitan (muṭrân) of it. The Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Jacobites (Yaʿâḳibah) who were in the city used, out of their great love for this saintly patriarch, to go to him at all times to the monastery and to beseech him to be present with them on the great feasts and on Sundays so that they might receive the blessing from him and communicate from his hands. It happened that, if he came to them, they would meet him with gospels and crosses and censers and readings (from the Gospels) before him [3], from the gate of the city up to the church with great joy and love. They used to do this every time he came to them, and they would recount his virtues to everyone and narrate the miracles which God praised be He!—performed by his hand. Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) found for himself an assistant in harming the aforesaid patriarch, a bishop dissenting (from us) of them who profess the Two Natures. He raised up against him a great trial, as saith the Apostle : "All who desire to live by upright faith shall be persecuted by evil men, haters of the truth" [4]. This bishop was an enemy of his out of envy

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[1] 'besides women' added on the margin. Part of this addition has been cut off, and it probably had 'and children'.

[2] Amélineau, p. 405.

[3] *Lit.* between his hands.

[4] Cf. 2 *Tim.* 3, 12 *-13*.

what pertains to men". Then she took that paper and made it (a source of) strength for her.

It happened again that he (John) had gone out to the river [1] to (re)-build a bridge over which the people used to cross which had been destroyed. Some good people besought him to stand on it at the beginning of its (re)building so that it might receive his blessing. If the people saw him there, they would assemble and assist in (re)building it. He did this and a great multitude assembled and they remained for three days (re)building it, and they worked with joy on seeing the patriarch. When it was completed on the third day, the multitude crowded (together) in passing over it, and a young man fell into the river [1], and the width of that river [1] was about twenty cubits, and its current was very strong. The father went forward (and said) that he who knew how to swim should go down to take him out. A number of those present took off their garments and went down to look for him, but they did not find him. They did not cease from diving and searching (for him) from the sixth hour of the day till the ninth hour so that they became weary and annoyed. News of him (the youth) reached his mother and she came out shrieking and weeping, as the widow of the city of Nain (Nâyîn) [2]. They found him after ten hours and brought him up dead, and they carried him to the tent of the father Abba John (Anbâ Yûḥannâ), the patriarch, and left him in front of him and went away. The saint arose and prayed and besought God on his account. Then the young man opened his eyes and arose and went forth from the tent alive, and the multitude was standing outside and they hastened towards him and crowded round him to see this marvellous miracle, and he could not get free from them, and he went away to his house, only after trouble and great exertion. This great miracle concerning him was noised abroad in all the lands of Syria (Sûrîah) and elsewhere so that news of it reached the lands of Miṣr [3], and he (John) became a boast of Orthodoxy (ὀρθοδοξία) and a grief for those who dissent (from us).

Malaṭya (Malaṭîah) [4] was near to the monastery in which this saintly father dwelt * and there was not in his see (a city) greater or more

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(1) *Lit.* sea. — (2) Cf. *Lk.* 7, 12. — (3) Egypt. — (4) Cf. p. 211, n. 2.

he did not keep anything of it except for his daily sustenance, and he gave the rest to the hidden[1] and the poor.

There came to him a woman one day and (she had) with her many dînârs in a large bag, and she placed it at his feet and said to him : "O my lord father, I have brought these dînârs for a blessing. Grant unto me their acceptation and bless me and dispose of them for thy requirements and for the hidden"[1]. He answered her in a quiet voice and said to her : "May the Lord accept this from thee, O my daughter". She stood expecting that he would say to her something more in the way of prayer(s) and favour(s) than this (blessing) which he had invoked upon her, as was the custom of those, other than he, who collect money and are desirous of it, so that, even if a man bring to them a single coin, they respect and honour him, especially so much money as this. When her stay had been drawn out and she did not hear (anything) other than what he had said to her, she went away grumbling. The disciple who went out to shut the door, returned and said to the patriarch: "O my father, this money which this woman brought is much. Did she not deserve that thou shouldst make much prayer for her and that her heart should be reassured? As it is, she went out grumbling about us and said : 'Perhaps, the father did not know what I brought him' ". He said to him : "Go, bring her back!" He went and brought her back to him. He said to the disciple : "Bring me a balance". He brought it to him, and he took a piece of paper and he wrote on it 'May the Lord accept them (the dînârs) from thee', even as he had prayed for her with his mouth at first. He put the paper into (one) scale of the balance and he put the money into the other scale, and he said to the disciple : "Lift up the balance", and he lifted it up and the paper weighed more than the money, and the scale in which was the paper went right down. The patriarch said to the woman : "O my daughter, take from them (the dînârs and the paper) what thou wishest". She threw herself[2] before him[3] and wept and said : "Forgive me, O my father. Thou believest in what pertains to God, whilst I believe in

[1] Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1. — [2] *Lit.* her soul. — [3] *Lit.* between his hands.

some people will come to us (and) take one of us to make him patriarch of the Throne. Should we not arise (and) go from here lest they find us?" The monk John (Yûḥannâ) said to him : "Why should we flee if the Lord has called one of us for this matter, and whither shall we flee from His presence?"[1] That saintly father said to him : "As for me, I (can) not bear this matter, and I am not suitable for it. But if thou art able (to bear it), remain in thy place. I am going to hide myself until this wrath which has come upon us to remove one of us from this blessed solitude which I prefer, passes us by". He went fleeing from there, and John (Yûḥannâ) the monk remained in his place. When the morning came, there arrived at the monastery those who were seeking for John (Yûḥannâ) the saint. They went around (looking) for him in the mountain, but they did not find him. When they reached the place in which that monk was living, they found him, since he was desirous of this. Then they took him, and while they were coming down from the mountain (and) going with him to where the congregation was, they saw on their way a tree, and they turned aside to it so that they might sit beneath its shade. A branch of the tree struck the eye of John (Yûḥannâ) the monk and tore it out, and he became one-eyed from that (hour). They marvelled and enquired of him (concerning) the matter of his case, and he confessed to them what had taken place between him and[2] the saint John (Yûḥannâ) ibn ʿAbdûn, and that he had desired this matter, but that that one (John the saint) had rejected it. When they were acquainted with the matter of the case, they left him and they went to the congregation and informed them of this. *fol. 154 v° * Their resolution was strengthened to seek for that saint wherever he was. They did not cease from going around and searching for him until they found him by the will of God, after they had become weary. He refused to go with them, so they took him by force, and they consecrated him patriarch and they seated him on the throne. During the time of his patriarchate he did not weary from his (acts of) humility and his devotions. Money used to be brought to him in the form of alms, but

[1] *Lit.* from between His hands. — [2] *Lit.* and between.

the Church of the Mistress at Banî Wâyil, known as the Church of the Steps (Darağ)[1].

Then a great trial was stirred up for the Church of the Syrians (Suryân) who agree with us in the Orthodox Faith in the East, so that their patriarch was exiled from his throne and he died in exile. That is to say, there was on the throne of Antioch (Anṭâkîah) of the Syrian (Suryân) Jacobites (Ya'âḳibah), our brethren, a father, a saint, called John (Yûḥannâ) ibn 'Abdûn, in that he resembled the first saintly fathers, and he did what we shall record. That is to say, our fathers, the Syrian (Suryân) patriarchs, had not been able to dwell in the city of Antioch (Anṭâkîah) since the time of the father Severus (Sâwîrus) for fear of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), and they did not go near its districts at all. This saint was dwelling in a monastery near Malaṭya (Malaṭîah)[2]. At the beginning of his career he had been an anchorite in the Black Mountain (Ġabal al-Aswad)[3]. He was (held) in good repute by everyone, as it is written in the Holy Gospel : "A city is not hidden which is[4] built upon a mountain"[5].

There was in his neighbourhood a monk who was also devoted to the worship of God there, whose name was John (Yuḥannâ). When Athanasius (Athanâsîûs), patriarch of Antioch (Anṭakîah) went to his rest in the time of Abba Philotheus (Anbâ Fîlâthâûs), patriarch of Alexandria —his deeds were like the deeds of his namesake Athanasius (Athanâsîûs) the Great in truth—he said at (the time of) his going to his rest that this saint John (Yûḥannâ) ibn 'Abdûn would sit after him on the Throne of Antioch (Anṭakîah). When he (Athanasius) went to his rest, they went around (seeking) for him (John), and the day before their arrival, his friend, the monk, who was in his neighbourhood knew of what the Holy Spirit had revealed (to him), and he said to him : "To-morrow

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[1] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 252 ; and A. J. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford, 1914, p. 48.

[2] Cf. Malaṭya in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. III, pp. 208-214, especially p. 210.

[3] Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, London, 1932, vol. I, p. 249.

[4] *Lit.* and it is.

[5] Cf. *Matt.* 5, 14 *.

which was not known to anyone save to him. He continued thus till the days of Ma'add al-Mustanṣir bi'llah[1].. Then he went out to al-Buḥairah[2] and sojourned with a Bedouin (Badawî) man of (the tribe) of Banî Ḳurrah, known as Mufarriğ ibn Tammâm, and the Bedouin (Badawî) man pitched a tent for him, and he remained with him for two years, and he pretended (to do) the deeds of the prophets by deception. He wore miserable garments as the ascetics. He used to give to the Bedouin (Badawî) rich garments and fine weapons, and if the Bedouin (Badawî) said to him : "Why dost thou not wear these magnificent garments?" He would say to him : "so that I may escape the execution which I fear"[3]. By this speech he used to enter in unto them to deceive them, namely, Mufarriğ ibn Tammâm of Ḳurrah (al-Ḳurrî) and his troop and other people besides them, * and they used to enter in unto him and prostrate themselves before him and salute him, as the people salute the kings, the Califs (al-Khulafâ). He forbade them (to do) this, and it was thought that he wished to conceal his affair until the time at which he willed to manifest it. News of him was spread in all the habitations of Miṣr[4] so that the kingdom was in an uproar and disturbed. This Šurûṭ then feared for himself, and he fled from the Bedouin (Badawî) and disappeared in a place not known to anyone. He remained concealed until the days of the father Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Šanûdah) the patriarch. Then he wrote to him (Šenouti) and dec ived him so that he sent to him money.

*fol. 154 r°

As for the father Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the patriarch, he remained, after meeting al-Ḥâkim, in tranquillity and peace for the rest of his days. The duration of his patriarchate was twenty-eight years, of which seven years were before the time of the persecution and twelve years after the (re)building of the churches. He went to his rest in the year seven hundred and forty-eight of the Martyrs[5]. He was buried in

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(1) A. D. 1036-1094.

(2) Amélineau, p. 90.

(3) *Lit.* the execution which I fear may escape me.

(4) Egypt.

(5) *i. e.* A. D. 1031-1032.

was 'Alî and his surname (kunyah) was Abû'l-Ḥasan. He did not interfere in anything of the affairs of his father, and there was in his days great tranquillity and peace, and he remained king for sixteen years [1]. The religion of the Christians (Naṣârâ) was in a good state and its people respected.

In his (Aẓ-Ẓâhir's) days the churches were (re)built till they returned to the state [2] (in which) they had been, and (were even) better. The (re)building in them (the churches) did not cease and the restoration was continued till the year in which this biography was written, and it is the year seven hundred and sixty-seven of the Martyrs [3].

The people did not cease from saying from the time of the disappearance of al-Ḥâkim up to the end of the time of his son, that he was alive. Many used to dress themselves in his style, and each one of them used to say : "I am al-Ḥâkim". They dressed themselves (thus, and appeared) to the people in the mountains so that they might take from them dînârs. There was a man from Šubrâ Kilsâ [4] (who was) called Šurûṭ, a Christian (Naṣrânî) (who) afterwards embraced Al-Islâm, and he learned magic and became skilled in it. Some people testified in his favour that he had walked with them and had suddenly disappeared from them, and that he resembled al-Ḥâkim, even in his speech, but that he was a little taller than he. He called himself Abû'l-'Arab and some people followed him (and) walked with him and became his disciples. He used to send them to the rich with letters from him to obtain for him money from them, and he used to say to them : "I shall make you amends when I return to my kingdom". He who met him and said to him : "Thou art our lord, the king", he (Abû'l-'Arab) would strike him and say to him : "Take heed to thy head". He remained at Miṣr [5] thus for twenty years concealed so that most of the people at Miṣr [5] thought that he was al-Ḥâkim and that he hid himself [6] on account of some secret affair

(1) S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 and 134 gives the years A. D. 1021-1036.

(2) *Lit.* to what.

(3) *i. e.* A. D. 1050-1051.

(4) Cf. Aziz Suryal Atiya, *Kitâb Qawânîn ad-Dawâwîn*, p. 154.

(5) Cairo.

(6) *Lit.* his soul.

(ἡγούμενος) and to clothe him with the black hood (ḳalansuwah) and to promise (to treat him) with courtesy. Then the king al-Ḥâkim came to them and he brought[1] an important decree (siǧill) (authorizing) the (re)opening of all the churches which were in his kingdom and their restoration, and that there should be returned to them (the Christians) the timber, pillars and bricks (ⲧⲱⲃⲉ) which had been taken from them, and the lands and the gardens which belonged to them in all the land (χώρα) of Miṣr[2]. The demolition of the churches was in the year seven hundred and twenty-seven of the Martyrs[3], and they were opened and their restoration was allowed in the year seven hundred and thirty-six of the Martyrs[4]. In this decree (siǧill) he (al-Ḥâkim) exempted them (the Christians) from wearing the ghiyâr[5] and from wearing[6] the cross, and (allowed) them to strike the nawâḳîs[7] in all the churches in every place, as was their custom. O what joy was it on that day for all the Christians (Naṣârâ) who were in the land (χώρα) of Miṣr[8]!

In the year in which there was deliverance and the allowance to undertake restorations in the churches, a wonderful thing was manifested. (It was) that al-Ḥâkim used to ramble about the mountains which are outside Miṣr[8] at night and during the day, and with him (there were) three equerries or a single equerry. When, on a certain night[9], he had come to Ḥulwân[10], a single equerry (being) with him, he dismounted from his beast and he said to the equerry : "Hough this ass". He did what he was ordered. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) said to him : "Go to the Castle and leave me here", and he went as he had commanded him. When it was morning, the occupants of the Castle did not find him (al-Ḥâkim), and he was sought for in every place, but he was not found, and no news of him was known. He had a young son and a sister. She managed the kingdom for two years until his small son had grown up[11]. Then they seated him (on the throne as) king, and they called him Aẓ-Ẓâhir li-ʿIzâzi-dîni'llah, and his name by which he was known

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[1] *Lit.* with him. — [2] Egypt. — [3] *i. e.* A. D. 1010-1011. — [4] *i. e.* A. D. 1019-1020.— [5] Cf. p. 207, n. 5.— [6] *Lit.* carrying. — [7] Cf. *H.P.E.C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 3. — [8] Cairo. — [9] *Lit.* a night of nights. — [10] Amélineau, p. 584. — [11] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

from them, he writes to them and places it (the mark of the cross) between the lines of the letter in the place of the mark of the king, and he says to them 'Do thus and thus, lest the cross be upon you'[1]. They obey his words and they do what he commands them without troops or warefare". He (al-Ḥâkim) said : "In truth, there is not (such a) stable religion in the world as the religion of the Christians (Naṣârâ). Lo, we shed blood and spend money and send out armies, and yet we are not obeyed, but this elder (šaikh) of humble appearance and ugly by nature, the inhabitants of all these lands obey at a single word". Then he said to him (Zacharias) and to the bishops : "Remain here till I satisfy your desires", and he went out from them and they were delighted at what they had heard from him.

Then John (Yû'annis) the monk who had taken an action against the patriarch, learned where they were[2], and he came to them as swiftly as a bird, and they did not perceive him till he had entered and was among them. He said to the patriarch : "Lo, the Lord has restored to thee thy rank (τάξις), and I desire that thou shouldst make me bishop". The patriarch said to him : "If the Lord will, I shall make thee (bishop)". The son of his (Zacharias') brother, who was Khaêl (Khâyîl), bishop of Sakhâ [3], was present there, and he was an adversary of John (Yû'annis) the monk. He again spoke words to him which angered him so that he went up on to a wall of the monastery and cried out : "I (ask help) of God and al-Ḥâkim. I am wronged, I am wronged : obtain for me my rights!" The bishops became afraid and a great quarrel took place between them and Khaêl (Khâyil) the bishop, and they said to him : "Thou art the cause of all this affliction and of all that has happened to us in the way of the demolition of the churches and of the wearing of the ghiyâr[4] and of the shame and of the other things. Thou art the root of it (all), and thou desirest also to begin again * another affair so that the last (state) shall be worse than the first"[5]. They did not cease (from speaking) until the wrath of John (Yû'annis) the monk had subsided, and they compelled the patriarch to make him a hegoumenos

*fol. 153 v°

[1] *i. e.* lest ye be under a ban. — [2] *Lit.* of their place. — [3] Amélineau, p. 410. — [4] Cf. p. 205, n. 5. — [5] Cf. *Lk.* 11, 26 *.

matter) for him. When Poemen (Bimîn) perceived that his words had become acceptable to him (al-Ḥâkim), he reminded him of the case of Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) the patriarch, and he begged him to allow the (re)building of the churches. He (al-Ḥâkim) promised him (to do) this. Then he (Poemen) sent to bring the patriarch from the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) [1], and he concealed him with him in the Monastery of Mercurius (Marḳûrîs) at Šahrân [2].

When al-Ḥâkim came to him, as was his [3] custom, he (Poemen) brought forth the patriarch to him. He (Zacharias) saluted him with the salutation of kings and he blessed him and prayed for him. Al-Ḥâkim said to Poemen (Bimîn) the monk : "Who is this?". He (Poemen) said : "It is our father, the patriarch, whom I sent to bring, as thou didst command". He (al-Ḥâkim) beckoned to him with his finger, and he saluted him. There was with him (Zacharias) a number of bishops. He (al-Ḥâkim) said : "Who are these?" The monk Poemen (Bimîn) said to him : "These are his vicars in the lands, namely, the bishops". Al-Ḥâkim looked at him (Zacharias) attentively and he marvelled at him, because he was humble in appearance [4] but was awe-inspiring in himself [5]. He was small of stature, thin bearded and ugly by nature. He (al-Ḥâkim) saw the bishops who were with him, elders (šuyûkh) of handsome aspect, splendid in appearance and of complete stature. He said to them : "Is this the chief of you all?" They said to him : "Yea, O our master. May the Lord establish thy kingdom!" He marvelled and said to them : "Unto where does his judgment extend?" They said to him : "His judgment is executed in the lands of Miṣr [6], Abyssinia (Ḥabašah), Nubia (Nûbah), the Pentapolis [7], Africa (Ifrîḳiyah) and other places". His astonishment increased and he said : "How (is it that) all of these obey him without troops or money with which to spend on them? " They said to him : "All these tribes obey him by means of a single cross". He said to them : "And what is this cross?" They said to him : "It is a model of that upon which Christ was crucified. Whatsoever he (the patriarch) wants

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[1] Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — [2] Cf. p. 205, n. 8. — [3] *Lit.* the. — [4] *Lit.* eye. — [5] *Lit.* his soul. — [6] Egypt. — [7] *Lit.* the five cities of the west.

burnt. After this [1], after another three years, they began to restore the churches in the houses and to consecrate them secretly and to pray in them and to communicate (in them). The Possessor of the Order [2] used to write to the Sulṭân who was al-Ḥâkim, that the Christians (Naṣârâ) had built churches in Miṣr [3] and in the Rîf (ar-Rîf) [4] secretly and that they were communicating in them *, but he (al-Ḥâkim) ignored them. *fol. 153 r°

After that, a number of Christians (Naṣârâ) who had embraced Al-Islâm stood before him (al-Ḥâkim), and he said to them : "What do ye want?" They said to him : "That thou shouldst let us return to our religion". He said to each one of them : "Where is thy girdle (ζωνάριον), thy cross and thy ghiyâr [5]?" They brought them out from under their garments and he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered them to wear them in front of him [6]. He despatched with each an equerry to write for him a decree (siǧill) to be kept with him [7] that he should not be interfered with. Many of those who had embraced Al-Islâm returned to their religion. There was amongst the number of those who had embraced Al-Islâm a monk whose name was Poemen (Bimîn) (who) returned to his religion and he begged al-Ḥâkim to empower him to build a monastery outside Miṣr [3] in the name of the martyr of Christ my lord Mercurius (Mârî Markûrîs), and it is the monastery of Šahrân [8]. He built it and dwelt in it with his brother monks. Al-Ḥâkim used to come to them many times, and to stay there and to eat of their humble food. All who wanted anything from al-Ḥâkim used to go to Poemen (Bimîn) the monk to speak with him about it at the time of his (al-Ḥâkim's) presence at his monastery [9], and he used to settle it (the

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[1] *Lit.* it.

[2] For the designations and titles assumed by wazîrs at this period, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[3] Cairo.

[4] Cf. p. 117, n. 6.

[5] *i. e.* some distinctive mark in a person's dress.

[6] *Lit.* between his hands.

[7] *Lit.* to be in his hands.

[8] Amélineau, p. 135 and B. T. A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, fol. 47 *b*.

[9] *Lit.* at him.

to us, but let us go with him to the bishop"[1], and they went with me[2] to him and they informed him of what had happened to me. He kissed me and strengthened my heart, and he was kind to me before I said to him what I had seen and what had befallen me. He spoke with me in Coptic, and those Muslims did not know what he was saying to me. When I opened my mouth to tell him, I became, the Lord is a witness, like unto him whose tongue is tied, and I was not able to say a single word of what I had seen. I made an obeisance (μετάνοια) unto him, and I said to him : "Absolve me, I am not able to say anything". When I reached my house, I wished to tell you, thou and thy brethren, but my tongue was tied and it would not make[3] any mention of it (the matter), except at this hour, while I was walking with thee[4]. I have mentioned now this wonder on account of your[5] love (for me), and because it is an order from God, and (that) for the Faithful, on hearing about it, (there may be) profit and strength of heart in the Faith". I do not doubt the words of my father —may God have mercy upon him !

Of these nine years during which there was chastisement from the Lord, there were three years during which no one was able to make the oblation (δῶρον) in the lands of Miṣr[6], except in the monasteries alone. The virtuous Faithful could not endure to be away from the Holy Mysteries, and they used to beg the wâlîs and to bribe them with many dînârs and presents so that they might give to them a permit to communicate at night secretly in remote and ruined churches and to lodge in them on the nights of the great feasts in order that they might pray and communicate at night. The vestments and Church instruments[7] were concealed in their houses, but the books had been

(1) "to the bishop" supplied from *MS*. A.
(2) MS. has "him".
(3) *Lit.* pronounce.
(4) MS. has "him".
(5) *Sic.*
(6) Egypt.
(7) *i. e.* the musical instruments, the cymbal and the triangle which are used as accompaniment to certain chants in the Coptic services.

in the way of vices, and when their actions against me increased, I raised my eyes to heaven and said : "O my Master Jesus Christ, if Thou dost not manifest to me something whereby to reassure my heart, and that I may know that I shall have a reward on account of what has happened to me through these (people), then I shall deny Thy religion". The Lord testified unto me, and the thought had not left my heart nor the speech my lips [1] ere I became, as it were, translated from this world, and it all vanished from me, and I was, as it were, in another world, and I was in a lofty luminous place. I am not able to describe with my tongue its beauty and its splendour, for there is not in this world anything like to it nor resembling to it. I saw the Lord Christ—to Him be glory—but I did not make out His real features and I was not able to distinguish Him clearly on account of the abundance of the light which was about Him. He said to me : "Why art thou of little faith? This is the place of the Christians (Naṣârâ) who endure trials patiently for My Name's sake. Is thy heart (now) reassured?" On account of the intensity of (my) illness and joy, O my son, Michael (Mîkhâyîl), and of the splendour which I beheld, I cried out, saying : "I thank Thee, O Lord, my heart is reassured". All who were in the ship heard me when I said that. I was not, as it were, in a ship. After this, I arose from my sleep, and I saw the ship and the people, and I was actually [2] among them, and what I had seen vanished from me. Those who were in the ship said to me : "Alas for thee! What (is it) that has befallen thee? Thou art mad and thou hast an evil (Šaiṭân) spirit". I said : "I have not an evil (Šaiṭân) spirit, but God knows what has happened to me". Then I saw this for the second time, as a likeness of Him, and the Master Christ said to me : "Was thy heart strengthened?" and I cried out and repeated [3] my first statement, so that all who were in the ship marvelled. Then I saw Him again for the third time, and then my heart was strengthened. When those who were in the ship heard me saying these words for the third time, some of them said to the others : "Perhaps, he has seen what it is not lawful for him to say

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[1] *Lit.* mouth. — [2] *Lit.* on my condition. — [3] *Lit.* said.

(Naṣrânî) were to forget his cross and were to walk without his cross, he would meet with much disgrace.

I will acquaint you with another miracle about which my father according to the flesh informed me. His trade was building, and in him (there was) piety and affection. I, the wretched Michael (Mîkhâyîl), was a child at the time of this affliction. He took me with him one day, when he was going to a village to build in it, and I was learning from him the trade of carpentry, since he was a mason and a carpenter. (Suddenly), he stood still astonished and clapped his hands together [1]. I said : "O my father, inform me of what has befallen thee". He sat down and his eyes overflowed with tears, and he said to me : "O my son, sit down and listen to what happened. Three months ago I went out from Miṣr [2], and God caused a loss of memory to come upon me, and my tongue was tied so that I might not inform you [3] about this, except at this hour, for God the Exalted has enlightened my understanding and He has caused my tongue to be loosened so that I remember this. * It is, that I was working in Miṣr [2] and that illness overtook me, and that I feared lest the illness might become severe and that I should not have anyone who would attend to me. I went out to walk little by little towards the shore and I found a ship going down to al-Maḥallah [4], and I went on board her. She was overloaded with people and they were very crowded together in her. There was no Christian (Naṣrânî) among them except a bishop and his disciple in the prow (muḳdim) [5] of the ship on a wood plane. I (was) in the midst of the people lying down in pain. The people crowded around me and buffeted me and said to me : "O dog, O vile one, O Christian (Naṣrânî), depart from us". They spat on me and inflicted on me every sort [6] of torment. They imputed to me falsely what they did (themselves)

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[1] *Lit.* hand upon hand.

[2] Cairo.

[3] "You" is plural here. It may possibly mean the man's family.

[4] Amélineau, p. 262.

[5] Cf. G. S. Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[6] *Lit.* sort of sorts.

this reason God brought to nought their deliberations through something (which) was manifested to them from God, and He preserved all the churches of the desert. It is recorded that the Martyr George (Ǧirǧis)[1] appeared to them and drove them back and terrified them, so that they returned, as it is written in the Apocalypse of John (Yûḥannâ) 'the woman who brought forth the male child, the dragon poured forth behind her a river[2] of water. And the Lord gave to her deliverance from it in the place in which she abode[3]'. Thus, the churches which are in this mountain found rest, as though the earth had opened her mouth and swallowed up the water[4], and thus these churches were saved from the disturbance.

At that time a Turkish (Turkî) amîr obtained the head of the father, the preacher, my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) the Evangelist. It was said to him : "The Christians (Naṣârâ) will pay to thee whatsoever thou desirest for it". Then he carried it (the head) to Miṣr[5]. When Buḳairah ar-Rašîdî, the Cross-bearer, was informed of this, he took the head from him (the Turk) for three hundred dînârs, and he carried it to the father, the patriarch, who (was) at that time in the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)[6], and most of the bishops were dwelling with him there through their fear of affronts and (on account of) fatigue. Most of the Christians (Naṣârâ) also used to enter the desert twice in the year, namely, (at) the Feast of Epiphany (al-Ghiṭâs) and (at) the Feast of the Resurrection (al-Ḳiyâmah) which is Easter (al-Fiṣḥ). They used to long for the Eucharist (ḳurbân) as a babe longs for the milk of its mother's breast. There was for the Christians (Naṣârâ) during these nine years great affliction, expulsion (from office) and execration and imprecation on the part of the Muslims, and they used to spit in their faces. Most of these (afflictions) happened[7] at the city of Tinnîs[8] and (in) its districts. If a Christian (Naṣrânî) passed through them, they (the inhabitants) would insult him and would say to him : "Break this cross and enter the all-embracing religion[9]". If a Christian

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[1] *i. e.* Saint George the Great Martyr. — [2] *Lit.* sea. — [3] Cf. *Apoc.* 12. 5*, 15*, 6*, — [4] Cf. *Apoc.* 12, 16.* — [5] Cairo. — [6] Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — [7] *Lit.* were. — [8] Amélineau, p. 507. — [9] *i. e.* Al-Islâm.

and I have nothing (wherewith) to pay them". He said to him : "I shall make it my business for to-day (to speak) with al-Ḥâkim in order to free thee". That pious Christian (Naṣrânî) said to him : "I cannot go out and leave this father, the Šaikh, the patriarch". Mâḍî said to him : "What is the crime of this patriarch, that they have imprisoned him?", and he informed him of the cause. Mâḍî was afraid lest (in) the speech concerning his (Zacharias') affair there might be something of which the Sulṭân would not approve, and that he would not release him. He said : "I shall arrange something about this matter, that is, I shall make it my business (to speak) with him (al-Ḥâkim) to-day, in order to entreat (him) to set free all who are in this chamber. If he orders this (to be done), thou wilt be liberated and he (the patriarch) (will be) among all those set free". Then Mâḍî went out and he met al-Ḥâkim and he entreated him for all (who were in the chamber), and he caused them to be set free. When the patriarch was liberated, he went down to Miṣr [1], and all the Christians (Naṣârâ) rejoiced greatly [2], but they advised him to depart to the desert, to Wâdî Habîb [3], for fear lest his release might have been (through) an oversight on the part of al-Ḥâkim, or that he (al-Ḥâkim) might forget that he (the patriarch) (had been) in that place from which Mâḍî of the Villages [4] had released him. He (Zacharias) accepted their advice and he departed immediately to Wâdî Habîb [3]. He remained in it for nine years, since the churches which were there were safe from demolition. (The reason for) this was that al-Ḥâkim had sent an amîr from Miṣr [1] and there had accompanied him workmen and surveyors (with) pick-axes (ⲧⲱⲣⲉ) in ships, to demolish all the churches which were in the desert. When they reached Tarnûṭ [5], they said : "We are afraid of the Arabs ('Arab) who are in this mountain on account of their great number". For

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[1] Cairo.
[2] *Lit.* rejoiced a great rejoicing.
[3] Cf. p. 109, n. 3.
[4] *Sic.*
[5] Cf. A. R. Guest, *The Delta in the Middle Ages*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, p. 978.

belongs not to anyone save to Me, and I sent it to thee by the hand of my minister". He said to Him : "O my Master, no minister of Thine came to me, but (it was) Buḳairah ar-Rašîdî (who) sent it to me". The Lord said to him : "As though thou art not aware till now that Buḳairah is My minister". When he heard this, he awoke and he informed his wife of his dream and their hearts rejoiced that they had not to return the wheat, but that they might live on it.

As for Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), he remained under arrest for three months, and they were threatening him every day with burning by fire and with throwing (him) to the lions, if he did not enter the religion of al-Islâm. They said to him : "If thou wilt agree to this, thou shalt receive great glory and al-Ḥâkim will make thee Ḳâḍî al-Ḳuḍâh, but he did not pay any attention to them nor did he incline towards them. There was with him (Zacharias) in (his) imprisonment an evil Muslim, and he said to him : "O Šaikh of evil, embrace Al-Islâm so that they may set thee free and thou shalt receive from them great honour". The patriarch said to him : "My reliance is in God Who has power, and He will help me". When he had finished (this) speech, one of the Turks (Atrâk) came in to him and struck him on his mouth with a club. The patriarch said to him : "As for the body, ye have power over it to destroy it as ye will, but as for the soul, it is in the hand of the Lord".

There was a man of the Arabs ('Arab), a chief of the Two Villages, whose name was Mâḍî ibn Maḳrab. He was the chief of his company and he was (held) in high esteem by al-Ḥâkim. He had arranged with him (al-Ḥâkim) to supply every day his wants whatsoever they might be. He had a Christian (Naṣrânî) friend, an employee, who was in debt to the Dîwân for three thousand dînârs, and he was not in a position * to pay them. He was imprisoned with the father, the patriarch Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs). When news of him reached Mâḍî of the Villages [1], he came to him that he might be informed correctly of his news, and he said : "Why did they imprison thee?" He said : "There (still) remains for me (to pay) to the Dîwân the three thousand dînârs,

*fol. 152 r°

[1] *Sic.*

(were) upon him (which) covered him. If he had had another (garment) in which to go to the church, he would have sold it. I do not know how Buḳairah, the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, knew about him. He (Buḳairah) took ten sacks (ϑαλλίς)[1] in which there were ten ardabs (ⲉⲣⲧⲟⲃ) of wheat, and he sent them to him by his boy. He did not find him at that time in his dwelling-place, so he emptied out the wheat in his house (and left it) with his wife and said to her : "Inform the master of the house and say to him, 'So and so has sent thee this blessing' ". He went to his friend and informed him of it. When the man came to his dwelling-place (and) perceived the wheat, he asked his wife about it. She informed him (and said) : "It is a blessing which the Lord has sent to us in order that we may live through it". He said to her : "Who is it who has brought it?" She said to him : "(It is) from Buḳairah ar-Rašîdî the scribe". When he heard this, his bosom became contracted and he said : "As the Lord liveth, I will sit in my dwelling-place till God shall take away my soul, but I will not take alms from anyone, nor will I be disgraced[2] ". He began to weep and to strike his face. His believing wife said to him : "God has provided us with our food to-day. Rise up now and wash thy face, thy hands and thy feet, and pray and adore the Lord and thank (Him) for His mercy unto thee, break thy fast, and when it is still early in the morning (ghadâh), return the wheat to its owner". He was comforted by her speech and his heart rejoiced and he ate his food and he sighed. When he was sleeping that night, he saw in his dream, as it were, the Lord Christ standing before him, and He said to him : "Why is thy heart sorrowful?" He said to Him : "O Master, how should my heart not be sorrowful, (since) after those riches and the mercy which I and my fathers enjoyed[3] (my) condition has ended in this poverty, so that I am brought to ask for alms? It is better for me to die of hunger in preference to this". He said to him : "Grieve not, for this wheat

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[1] ϑαλλίον, (ϑαλλίς), cf. F. Preisigke, *Worterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin, 1925, p. 664 and R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 150.

[2] *Lit.* expose my soul.

[3] *Lit.* was to me and to my fathers.

a few of them. From the beginning, when this affair happened in those days, he (Buḳairah) did not break his fast during the day, and on the days on which he communicated, he did not (even) break his fast on them till the night [1]. All this I knew from him on account of the friendship (which) existed between us [2]. Most of the time, I used to sleep at his home, and he would bring to me some book to read for a part of the night, (and) then I would sleep a little, but, as for him, he would remain erect till the morning. When it was the morrow, he would go to the work which he had chosen for himself [3], and it became for him * like a profession and a way of life. (Once), when wheat and all food were lacking, it happened [4] one day [5] that he purchased bread and distributed it according to his custom to the hidden [6] and the poor till there remained to him only one loaf with which to break his fast. He placed it (the loaf) upon the table and said grace and sat down to break his fast. He gave thanks and stretched forth his hand to eat, when he heard a knocking at the door. He said to his boy : "See (who is at) the door!" The boy went out and found a hidden man [6] (who) said to him : "Say to the Šaikh Buḳairah : 'Thou hast forgotten me to-day and I have nothing wherewith to break my fast' ". The boy went in to him and informed him of what the man had said. He (Buḳairah) gave to him the loaf and he remained fasting until the night of the next day.

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There was, moreover, a man, high in rank among his people (and) very rich, (who) became poor and his money was exhausted, so that nothing remained to him, and he was in want, and shame caused him not to show his face nor to beg from anyone. He sold all that (was) in his house, so that nothing remained to him except the clothes which

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(1) It is customary in the Coptic Church for the communicant to drink a little water after communicating and to eat the antidoron.

(2) *Lit.* was between me and between him.

(3) *Lit.* for his soul.

(4) *Lit.* It was.

(5) *Lit.* a day of days.

(6) Cf. p. 142, n. 6.

brought me up, and he sware to me, saying : "I had not reached my home and started to go to the house of Bukairah, as he told me (to do), when al-Ḥâkim sent and brought him (Bukairah) out from (his) imprisonment and wrote for him a decree (siğill) that no one should hinder Bukairah al-Rašîdî from buying and selling nor in any other affair[1].

When he (Bukairah) had received the decree (siğill), he went down to Miṣr[2], and he went around to the Christians (Naṣârâ) who were alarmed, and he reassured them and sware to them that after three days all the disadvantages from which they were suffering would be removed from them. He used to purchase for them all that they were in need of in the way of water and food and he used to send it to them by his boys. He did this for three days, and on the morning of the fourth day an order (from) al-Ḥâkim went forth that the Christians (Naṣârâ) might buy and sell as was their custom. He (al-Ḥâkim) wrote a decree (siğill) that whosoever of the Christians (Naṣârâ) in Miṣr[3] wished to go to the lands of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) or to the lands of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabašah) and Nubia (an-Nûbah) or to other (lands) should not be prevented (from doing so) by anyone. Before this, they were prevented from (doing) it.

When Bukairah was dismissed from the Dîwân in which he was, he devoted himself to visiting the prisoners and to taking[4] to them what they were in need of, and he used to visit those imprisoned (for the non-payment of) the poll-tax (ğawâlî). If he found anyone who was asked (to pay) what he could not, he would go bail for him and would bring him out from (his) imprisonment, and he would go to the chiefs and to the rich men and he would take from them what he would have to pay on his account in going bail for him, and he would free him. He (Bukairah) trusted in the Lord Christ with (all) his strength (and) with all his heart. Likewise, if he knew that any of the brethren, the Faithful, were in need of food, he would give to them what was sufficient for them[5] for each day. He performed very many good and fine deeds which we have not mentioned, but we have contented ourselves with

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[1] *Lit.* in an affair of affairs. — [2] Cairo. — [3] Egypt. — [4] *Lit.* carrying. — [5] *Lit.* their sufficient means.

or sell in any place [1]. A number of them denied their religion on account of this. Most of the Egyptian (Maṣriyîn) Christians (Naṣârâ) divested themselves of (their) distinctive dress and the cross and the girdle (ζωνάριον) and the wooden stirrups, and they imitated the Muslims, and no one exposed them, and he who saw them thought that they had embraced Al-Islâm.

There was a deacon whose name was Buḳairah. He left the service in the Dîwân to which he was (attached) and he wore [2] his cross and he went to the Castle and cried at its gate, (saying) : "Christ (is) the Son of God". When al-Ḥâkim heard his voice, he ordered him to be brought (to him), and he endeavoured (to make him) deny his religion and to acknowledge al-Islâm, but he did not do (so). He was as the firm rock which is not disturbed. The more he (al-Ḥâkim) spoke to him, the more he cried out and said : "Christ (is) the Son of God". He (al-Ḥâkim) commanded that a collar and an iron chain should be cast about his throat and that he should be cast into the Prison of Blood. A trustworthy man testified to me (that) he went to him to visit him in (his) imprisonment on account of the friendship (that) was between them [3], and that he found him in the following [4] state, being fastened to a large peg driven into the ground. He was standing praying, and in his hand there was a small writing-book, and his face (was) towards the East, (and) he was reading and praying, in spite of the weight of that iron with which he was bound, and when he saw him, he rejoiced with him, as if he were at a marriage-feast.

This man said to me : "When I visited him and (afterwards) wished to separate from him, I said to him, 'What dost thou charge me (to say) to thy house and to thy relatives?' He said, 'Go to them and say to them : I (shall be) with you (for) the remainder of the day before sunset, so be not grieved' ". This man who related this to me was chief engineer of those who worked at sawing, (and) his name was Menas (Mînâ) and he was my uncle, the brother of my mother, and through his work he found the means to visit the aforesaid Buḳairah. He (it was) who

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[1] *Lit.* a place of places. — [2] *Lit.* carried. — [3] *Lit.* between him and between him. — [4] *Lit.* this.

the Church of the Resurrection (al-Ḳiyâmah) should be demolished. The scribe wrote to the wâlî a letter (and) this (is) a copy of it : 'An order of the Imâm (Imâmah)[1] has been issued to thee to demolish the Rubbish Mound (Ḳimâmah)[2] and to make its heaven[3] an earth and its length a breadth'. The writer of the decree (siǧill) was a Nestorian (Nasṭûrî) Christian (Naṣrânî) known as Ibn Šîrîn. When the aforementioned (scribe) had despatched the decree (siǧill) which he had written, he became as one drunk who awakes from his drunkenness, and he thought within himself[4] about what he had done and he said : "I wrote with my hand that the Church of the Resurrection (al-Ḳiyâmah) should be demolished. Why did I not endure death before doing this, and why did I not endure the cutting off of my right hand, and (then) I would not have written this? If I had refrained from writing it, what would have been done to me beyond beheading me, and I could not have wished for a martyrdom greater than this"[5]. He used to say this and similar things to it and to repeat this by heart night and day. Through the intensity of his sorrow he became ill and was confined to a sick-bed, and he used to say : "O my right hand, how didst thou dare to do this terrible thing? I, also, shall do * to thee what thou dost deserve, and I shall not cease from afflicting thee". He began to lift up his hand and to strike the ground with it, and he did not cease from this throughout the days of his illness until his fingers were cut to pieces and he died.

*fol. 151 r°

After some days, al-Ḥâkim sent forth decrees (siǧillât) to all the districts of his kingdom that the churches should be demolished, and that there should be brought to his castle what (was) in them in the way of gold and silver vessels, and that the bishops in every place should be asked (for money), and that the Christians (Naṣârâ) should not buy

[1] The Fâtimid Califs styled themselves Imâms, *i. e.* leaders of the Faithful, hence the use here of the word Imâmah.

[2] Ḳimâmah, a term of contempt applied to the Church of the Resurrection (Ḳiyâmah).

[3] *i. e.* its roof.

[4] *Lit.* his soul.

[5] *i. e.* for the sake of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem.

in which he recounted every evil (thing) concerning the patriarch, and he went out to the mountain and stood before al-Ḥâkim and said to him : "Thou art the Calif (Khalîfah) of God on His earth, help me for the sake of God". He delivered to him (al-Ḥâkim) the letter and he took it from him and in it there was written : 'Thou art the king of the earth, but for the Christians (Naṣârâ) (there is) a king (who) does not accept thee on account of the great amount of what he has stored up in the way of abundant riches, because he sells the episcopate for money, and he does not do what is agreeable to God the Exalted', and he mentioned in the letter many abominable things about him (the patriarch) such as this. When al-Ḥâkim learned the contents of the letter, he ordered that the doors of the churches should be closed and that the patriarch should be brought (to him). He (the patriarch) had become old and was advanced in age. When he was brought, he (al-Ḥâkim) imprisoned him for three months, and his imprisonment occurred [1] on the twelfth day of Hatûr (in) the year seven hundred and twenty-seven of the Martyrs [2]. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that he (the patriarch) should be cast to the lions to eat. When he was thrown to them, God changed their nature for him, and protected him from them and kept them away from him and restrained them from him, and they did not eat him. Al-Ḥâkim reproached their keeper and said to him : "Thou hast taken bribes from the Christians (Naṣârâ) and hast fed the lions abundantly and hast satisfied them and hast not starved them". He ordered that the lions should be starved again, and that, when their hunger became violent, a sheep should be slain and that the patriarch should be divested of his clothes and that his body should be smeared with its (the sheep's) blood, and that the lions should be set loose upon him. They did this to him (the patriarch), but they (the lions) did not harm him at all. John (Yû'annis) the aforementioned monk used to go most of his time to the patriarch, while he was in imprisonment for the sake of gloating over him. It happened [3] on the second day of his imprisonment that al-Ḥâkim ordered that a decree (siğill) should be written to the wâlî of Jerusalem (Bait al-Maḳdis) that

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[1] *Lit.* was. — [2] *i. e.* A. D. 1010. — [3] *Lit.* was.

was the name of the king, and (he ordered) that they should hang it about their necks with ropes of palm fibres (lîf). Likewise, the weight of the ball which was about the necks of the Jews (Yahûd) should be five raṭl [1]. He among them who was found without a seal should be contemned and should pay a fine for the offence. Many of the Christians (Naṣârâ) and the Jews (Yahûd) from their chiefs (down) to the lowest of them denied (their faith) on account of this, and they did not endure patiently this disgrace and affliction.

It is recorded that, when al-Ḥâkim forbade the Cairene (Maṣriyât) women to go out in the daytime, they made likenesses of women from paper (χάρτης) [2] and bread and radishes [3], and they set them up for him in the way, where he walked outside Miṣr [4], and in their hands (were) written papers in which they reviled him and defamed his sister. He (al-Ḥâkim) used to order the papers to be taken from them (the likenesses) and he would read them and find them after this manner. This they did a number of times, and on account of this, he ordered Miṣr [4] to be set on fire and he plundered it. He did not live in luxury as (other) kings, but he used to travel in the mountains and the deserts at night and in the day, and he shed in his days much blood.

We return now to finish (the account) of what the aforementioned monk John (Yû'annis) did in the way of abominable things in the days of this king (al-Ḥâkim). This (was) that when he ascertained that he would not be consecrated bishop, he went to Miṣr [4] and he wrote a letter

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[1] Cf. S. C. Malan, *A Short History of the Copts and their Church,* London, 1873. p. 90; for the Arabic text of this, cf. Al-Maḳrîzî, *Kitâb al-Khiṭaṭ,* vol. II, p. 495, Bûlâk edition, Cairo, A. H. 1275.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.,* p. 132.

[3] خبز فجل 'bread [and] radishes' *sic.* This is also the reading in MS. A. It is suggested that the original may have had جريد نخل of which the diacritical points were altered and the last two letters of the first word omitted in subsequent copies. جريد نخل means 'branches of the palm-tree'. The 'likenesses' may, therefore, have been made from branches of palm-trees covered with paper, similar to what is still done to this day in our villages, in order to scare away birds and thus protect the corps and fruit. Such a scare-crow is called خيال المقات .

[4] Cairo.

houses [1] in which there was trefoil (ḳurṭ), firewood (ḥaṭab) and reeds (bûṣ), and he ordered them to be burned. They were burned while he rode by (and) watched the burning of the fire in them until all of them were burned, and the price of them was lost for their owners.

On a certain night ten men furnished with arms met him (al-Ḥâkim) and they asked him to give them money. He said to them : "Divide (yourselves) into two parties and fight before me. To him who vanquishes I will pay the money, because he will be worthy to receive honour". They did this and they fought until nine of them were killed and one remained. He (al-Ḥâkim) said to him : "Thou, indeed, art worthy to receive honour, and he threw to him many dînârs from his sleeve. He (the man) bent down to take them from the ground, and he (al-Ḥâkim) made a sign to those who were riding with him, and they leaped upon him and killed him, and they gathered together those dînârs, and he returned them to his sleeve.

There was constructed for him (al-Ḥâkim) in his castle a marble basin [2] and water was brought to it by means of a water-wheel (sâḳiyah) and it (the water) ran into it (the basin) through a canal. Outside the basin [2] there was an enclosure (ḥaṣar) of marble and there was sculptured upon it all (kinds of) birds. He ordered that there should be set in the wall a thin wooden arrow jutting out, and that its extremity should project out from it (the wall) as far as the basin [2] of marble and should be level with its edge. It * was (placed) very high at the top of the wall, as was related by him who saw it. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that a public crier should proclaim that to him who walked upon this arrow and jumped (from it) into the basin [2] and fell into the water there should be paid six hundred dirhams. He (al-Ḥâkim) caused a number (of people) to be tempted by this, and through the love of dirhams a number of people walked upon it and jumped (from it) and fell upon the floor and were killed. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that the crosses of the Christians (Naṣârâ) should be of wood, and each cross weighing five Egyptian (maṣrî) raṭl (and) stamped with a leaden seal upon which

*fol. 150 v°

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[1] From the Coptic ϣⲉⲩⲛⲓ, cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary,* p. 603 *b.*
[2] *Lit.* sea.

dînârs. Then al-Ḥâkim said to him : "Thou hast brought this merchandise for doing something illicit (with it), otherwise, swear that thou hast brought it for making sweetmeat (ḥalâwah) and for eating, and take its price". The merchant entreated that the money should be brought before he sware. Then al-Ḥâkim ordered the money to be brought, and the merchant sware and received his money, and there was written with regard to him that he had taken it (the money) and had received his due (for his merchandise) in full. He (the merchant) entreated that a decree (siǧill) should be written for him to have charge of it and to keep it, and this was done for him. When judgment had been pronounced upon the matter which (was) between them, the Ḳâḍî stood before [1] al-Ḥâkim and saluted him with the salutation of the Calif (al-Khalîfah). The Ḳâḍî increased in dignity with him (al-Ḥâkim) and he loaded him with great honours.

He (al-Ḥâkim) used to walk (abroad) at night and he found sometimes those who roast (meat) heating the ovens to roast therein, and he cast some of them into the ovens so that they were burnt. He found on a certain night a man frying meat in a frying-pan (ṭâgin) and he ordered that his hands should be cut off and cast into the frying-pan (ṭâgin). That man said to him : "Since when did the Commander of the Faithful learn frying? We knew him only as one who roasts, since when did he become one who frys?" He (al-Ḥâkim) laughed at him and ordered him to be released.

A man brought to him (al-Ḥâkim) once a silver dish [2] snatched away from the hand of its owner in the market. When they caused him (the man) to stand before [3] him (al-Ḥâkim) with the silver dish [2] in his hand, he said to him : "I desire that thou shouldst run before me and show me how thou didst run when thou didst snatch it (the dish) away from the hand of its owner". He (the man) did this, and he departed running, and no one dared to follow him.

He (al-Ḥâkim) passed on a certain occasion through the store-

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[1] *Lit.* between the hands of.

[2] A dish for carrying cups, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 822.

[3] *Lit.* between his hands.

should have a belt (ζωνάριον) fastened round their waists and that they should wear black turbans on their heads and that they should ride with wooden stirrups and that none of them should ride with iron stirrups, and that they should wear[1] crosses a span in length, then he ordered again to make them[2] (the crosses) a cubit and a half (in length). (He ordered) that the Jews (Yahûd) should dye the borders of their turbans and that they should wear belts (ζωνάριον) and that they should make (for themselves) a wooden ball[3] in the form of the head of the calf which they worshipped in the desert, and that none of the Christians and Jews (adh-Dhimmah) should enter a bath with Muslims. He (al-Ḥâkim) set apart for them baths and he placed (upon) the door of the bath of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) a wooden cross and upon the door of the bath of the Jews (Yahûd) a wooden log. Then he ordered that raisins (zabîb) should be burned, and what was burned of them in Miṣr[4] and its districts and (in) Syria (aš-Šam) was calculated, and it was six hundred thousand sâṭarah[5], and likewise that which he seized in Miṣr[6]. He brake (the vessels containing) honey (ʿasal) and cast it (the honey) into the river[7]. One of the merchants lost all (his) fortune, the price of the honey (ʿasal) and the raisins (zabîb), and he cited our lord, al-Ḥâkim, before the Ḳâḍî al-Ḳuḍâh, Ibn an-Nuʿmân. He said to him (Ibn an-Nuʿmân) that he had come to Miṣr[4] with his merchandise which was raisins (zabîb) and honey (ʿasal) for eating and for making sweetmeat (ḥalâwah), and that he (al-Ḥâkim) had caused (the vessels containing it) to be broken and (the contents) to be cast into the river[7]. The Ḳâḍî treated them both equally (in the matter of) seating (in the court) and (in) the trial. The merchant entreated al-Ḥâkim for his money, the full price of his merchandise being one thousand

(1) *Lit.* carry.

(2) MS. has "it".

(3) Al-Maḳrîzî mentions this wooden ball, cf. S. C. Malan, *A Short History of the Copts and their Church*, London, 1873, p. 90.

(4) Egypt.

(5) *i. e.* a measure, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 652.

(6) Cairo.

(7) *Lit.* sea.

men to him, and they (the men) used to listen (to him). He used to say to those who were gathered together to him that al-Ḥâkim was the Christ and many sayings which it is not permissible to mention. Al-Ḥâkim used to go out many times from his castle at night borne in a litter on the shoulders of four servants (farrâšîn). He ordered that a woman should not go out at all from her house, neither to the bath nor elsewhere. If he caught a woman who had gone out at night or in the day, he would hand her over to the chief of the watch (mutawallî aš-šurṭah) who would chastise her with a chastisement that would lead to her death. He ordered that Jew's mallow (mulûkhiyah)[1] should not be eaten, and he was obeyed openly, but not in secret. He ordered that no one should drink nabîdh[2], and he wrote concerning this decrees (siğillât) to the rest of the cities, and the vessels in which there was nabîdh[2] were broken in every place. Then (it happened) that he was passing along one day, and a dog jumped in front of him and the ass which was under him started, so he ordered that every dog in Miṣr[3] should be killed. It is recorded that a dog howled exceedingly[4] without the city, and there gathered to it many dogs and they climbed to the eastern mountain[5] and they went away. He (al-Ḥâkim) ordered the swine which were in the land (χώρα) of Miṣr[3] to be killed * and they killed all of them, and there were in it (Egypt) many swine, especially in al-Bašmûr[6]. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that the nâḳûs[7] should not be struck in the lands of Miṣr[3], and, after a little, he ordered that the crosses which were upon the domes of the churches should be pulled down, and that the crosses which were upon the hands of the people should be erased[8]. Then he ordered that the Christians (an-Naṣârâ)

*fol. 150 r°

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[1] *i. e.* Corchorus olitorius.

[2] Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 1.

[3] Cairo.

[4] *Lit.* howled a great howling.

[5] Cf. p. 187, n. 3.

[6] Amélineau, p. 350.

[7] Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 3.

[8] *i. e.* the crosses tattooed on the wrists. A practice still in force with many Copts and Eastern Christians.

two eyes were large (and) of a blueness in colour [1]. If he (al-Ḥâkim) looked at a man, he would tremble owing to the greatness of his awe (of him). His voice was loud and fearful. He used to observe the stars and (study) the false science [2]. He used to serve the star called Saturn, as he imagined, and he used to continue turning round the eastern mountain [3] at Miṣr [4] at night, and with him there were three riders. Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) used to take on for him the likeness of that star, and he (al-Ḥâkim) used to converse with him (Satan) about many matters, and he used to offer [5] to him (Satan) sacrifices (ḳarâbîn). He gave up the attire of kings on account of this, and he wore a black woollen garment. He let his hair grow till it descended to his shoulders. He gave up riding on dromedaries [6] and marked [7] race-horses and decorated mules, and he rode a black ass. He used to walk alone in every place and often he took with him (only) a single rider. He used to walk in the streets at night also and to listen to what men said about him in their houses. He had many spies and informers going around night and day who brought to him information, and who did not hide from him anything of what happened in all the lands of Miṣr [8]. Men thought that the power of God had descended upon him on account of the kingship which He had entrusted to him. He had a man called al-Hâdî, and with him there were twelve men who became his disciples, and they used to call

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[1] For the various shades of colour in the black of the eye expressed by the word شهل, cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* under this word.

[2] *i. e.* astrology. Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[3] *i. e.* the Mukaṭṭam Hills to the East of Cairo, cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,* etc., pp. 114 and 62.

[4] Cairo.

[5] *Lit.* immolate.

[6] For عمّارايات, R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 171-172 records the meaning *dromadaires.* He also gives under عمّارية the translation *litière.* It would appear that the former meaning is that required by our text, since further on we read that al-Ḥâkim was borne in a litter.

[7] Cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* under the word سوم where he gives an example of الخيل المسومة.

[8] Egypt.

and set thee over all those who are in my State. Hearken to me and join me [1] in my religion and I will exalt thee higher than thou art, and thou shalt be to me as a brother", but he did not answer his (al-Ḥâkim's) words. He (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that he should be beheaded and that his body should be burned with fire. The fire remained alight upon him for three days, but he was not burned. His right hand remained as if the fire had not approached it at all. This was a miracle (performed) by God—Praise be to Him!—for he was a pious man in whom there was great compassion. He did not at all turn away him who solicited anything from him, so that if he passed through the streets riding, and there met him one who solicited alms from him, he would stretch out his hand to his sleeve thinking that there was nothing in it, and he would find wherewith to give to him who asked. Wherefore this miracle was manifested in his right hand which he used to stretch out for alms-giving at all times, for he performed [2] very kind deeds through [3] God. May God grant to us all acceptation through the blessing of their [4] prayers!

As for the remainder of those ten chief judges [5], when he (al-Ḥâkim) asked them to forsake their religion and to depart from it, they did not do this, nor did they obey him. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) commanded them to be tortured and they were scourged with thongs. When they had been scourged exceedingly [6], four of them (the chiefs) embraced Al-Islâm. As for one of these four, he died the same night, and as for the other three, after the expiration of the time of the disturbance, they returned to the belief of Christianity (an-Naṣrâniyah). As for the remainder of the ten (chiefs), they died under the torture and obtained eternal life.

This king (al-Ḥâkim) did deeds which it was unheard of that any of the kings before him had done the like. He did not adhere to one opinion or to one belief. His aspect was as (that of) a lion, and his

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(1) *Lit.* be with me.
(2) *Lit.* there was to him.
(3) *Lit.* in.
(4) *i. e.* of the aforementioned martyrs.
(5) 'Chief judges' added in the margin.
(6) *Lit.* when the scourging was increased upon them.

and threat to turn him away from his religion, but he would not do (so), and he (al-Ḥâkim) was not able to make him change his resolution with regard to his belief. Then he ordered that his garments should be removed from him and that he should be fastened to the rack [1] and that he should be scourged. So they scourged him five hundred lashes on his [2] soft body until his flesh was torn and his blood flowed like water. The thongs were of the sinews of bulls, of which a giant (could) not endure (one) lash, more especially that man who lived in luxury and ease. Then he (al-Ḥâkim) ordered that he should be scourged (till) the completion of one thousand lashes. When he had been scourged another three hundred (lashes), he said : "I am thirsty". So they ceased from scourging him, and they informed al-Ḥâkim of this. He said : "Give to him to drink after you have told him to turn to our religion". When they had brought to him water and had told him what the king had ordered them (to say), he said to them : "Return to him his water, for I have no need of it, because my Lord Jesus Christ has given me to drink". A number of assistants and others who were there bare witness that they saw water dripping from his beard. When he had said this, he gave up the [3] ghost [4]. * When they informed the hard-hearted king of this death, he ordered that he should be scourged (till) the completion of the thousand lashes, although he was dead, and on this wise his martyrdom was accomplished. May his blessings be with us! *fol. 149 v°

Another among them (the ten chiefs) was known as the chief Fahd ibn Abraham (Ibrahîm). He (al-Ḥâkim) had set him over all the secretaries and chiefs of the Dîwâns. He caused him to be brought into his presence [5] and he said to him : "Thou knowest that I chose thee

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(1) هنبازين is the term used for an instrument of torture in the Martyrdoms recorded in the Arabic *Synaxarium of the Coptic Church* and appears to be the equivalent of the *ἑρμητάριον*. Cf. R. Basset, *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, in *P. O.*, t. I, p. [43].

(2) *Lit.* that.

(3) *Lit.* his.

(4) 'He had said... ghost' lacuna in MS., text from MS. A.

(5) *Lit.* between his hands.

informed his relatives and he wrote his will. After an hour, he (al-Ḥâkim) sent to him one who cut off his head. It happened, that if he (al-Ḥâkim) wished to kill a man, he would bestow upon him money and robes of honour, and after this, he would send one who would cut off his head and bring it to him. He (al-Ḥâkim) did not cease from doing this till he had destroyed his notables and the chiefs of his army. Then he turned again to the archons (ἄρχων) and the scribes and took from them ten from among their chiefs, (including) Abû Naǧâḥ al-Kabîr who was an Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christian (Naṣrânî). He caused him to come to him and he said to him : "I desire that thou shouldst forsake thy religion and turn to my religion, and I will make thee my wazîr, and thou shalt conduct the affairs of my kingdom". He (Abû Naǧâḥ) said to him : "Grant to me a delay until to-morrow that I may take counsel with myself [1]". He (al-Ḥâkim) granted to him a delay and let him go. He went to his residence and caused his friends to come and he made known to them what had happened to him with him (al-Ḥâkim). He said to them : "I am ready to die for the Name of the Lord Christ. My purpose was not to delay until to-morrow in order to take counsel with myself [1], but I said this so that I might meet you and my relatives and that I might take leave of you and take leave of them, and that I might give my instructions to you and give my instructions to them. Now, O my brethren, seek not this transitory glory and lose the everlasting and eternal glory of the Lord Christ. He hath satisfied our souls with good things of the earth. Behold through His mercy He hath called us to the kingdom of the heavens. Strengthen then your hearts". He strengthened the [2] hearts of all by his speech and confirmed (in) them (the intention) to die for the Name of the Lord Christ. He made for them on that day a great banquet and they remained with him till the evening and they went to their residences. When it was morning, he (Abû Naǧâḥ) went to al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah. He (al-Ḥâkim) said to him : "O Naǧâḥ, tell me, hast thou decided? [3]". He said to him : "Yea". He said : "In what wise?". He said : "My remaining in my religion". Then al-Ḥâkim endeavoured by every kind of inducement

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[1] *Lit.* my soul. — [2] *Lit.* their. — [3] *Lit.* Is thy soul content?

perfected, it bringeth forth death"[1]. John (Yû'annis) the monk went to Miṣr[2] to set forth his complaint. From here we break off the account[3] now about what he did until we recount it in its place.

As for the king whom we mentioned previously, he was invested with the authority of the kingdom while still a very young child. He grew up and became big and became as a roaring lion seeking for a prey. He became more fond of shedding blood than a ferocious lion, so that a number (of people) counted them that were killed by his command and their number was eighteen thousand men. First of all, he began by killing the notables of his State and his secretaries, and by cutting off the hands of people. The first whom he killed was the master (ustâdh) Barğuwân[4] who had brought him up, since he used to call him in his childhood the lizard[5]. He (al-Ḥâkim) sent to him a master (ustâdh) from him[6] and he (al-Ḥâkim) said to him : "Say to him (Barğuwân)[4], the small lizard[5] has become a great dragon and it calls thee". The master (ustâdh) went to him and told him what he (al-Ḥâkim) had commanded him. He (Barğuwân) came to him, being terror-stricken. He (al-Ḥâkim) commanded that his head should be cut off. Likewise a great amîr called Al-Ḳâyid Faḍl[7]—a great and sincere intimacy existed[8] between them[9]—entered one day the palace, as (was) his custom, and he found the aforementioned king seated, and before him[10] there was a comely child whom he had bought for a hundred dînârs, and in his hand there was a knife with which he had slaughtered him, and he had extracted his liver and his intestines and was cutting them up. He (the amîr) went out afraid and terror-stricken to his residence, and he

[1] *James* 1, 15.

[2] Cairo.

[3] *Lit.* speech.

[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[5] This is the Lacerta gecko, cf. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, p. 860

[6] *Lit.* from his hands.

[7] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[8] *Lit.* was.

[9] *Lit.* between him and between him.

[10] *Lit.* between his hands.

to them as he had spoken to the patriarch. One of them, namely, Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyâl), bishop of Sakhâ[1], who was the son of the brother of the patriarch, insulted him when he learned from him that he desired the episcopate for nothing. He said to him after the insult : "If thou dost mention with thy mouth anything about this matter, I shall cause the disciples to revile thee". Wrath obtained the mastery over him (the monk), and he rose up and he went to Miṣr[2] and he complained of his case to the Sulṭân. He wrote a number of letters against the patriarch that they might be submitted to the king al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah. When the archons (ἄρχων) at Miṣr[2] learned of this, they prevented him from doing it, and they wrote for him letters to the patriarch, and he (the patriarch) was at that time in Wâdî Habîb[3]. When the letters reached him (the patriarch), he gave them to the aforementioned son of his brother. When he learned their contents, he slandered the monk, and he brought the Arabs (ʿArab) who were the guards of the monasteries, and he delivered to them the monk. They (the Arabs) took him and cast him into a well and they stoned him with stones to kill him. He (the monk) found in the well a place (which was) a cleft and he entered it and hid himself, and not a single stone reached him. When the patriarch heard the news, he put dust on his head and he plucked out the hair of his beard and he excommunicated the son of his brother on account of what he had done with regard to the monk. He sent his disciples to the well and they brought him (the monk) up out of it and they consoled him and asked him to be comforted. The patriarch promised that he would make him bishop of a see which would become vacant. He (the monk) waited patiently till two sees had become vacant, but he (the patriarch) did not make him (bishop) of either of them, * but his (the patriarch's) relatives and disciples used to speak to him (the monk) of that which caused pain to his heart. Then he (the monk) was filled with rage at their preventing him from (obtaining) the episcopate, the love of which had entered his heart. This was the first pain which Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) suffered, namely, pride, for it is written : "If the lust should conceive, it bringeth forth sin, but if the sin should be

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[1] Amélineau, p. 410. — [2] Cairo. — [3] Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

There was a monk whose name was John (Yûʿannis), a priest of the Skênê (σκηνή) of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)[1], residing at the Church of Saint Abba Onuphrius (Abû Nufar), at the Skênê (σκηνή) which is at the north of the Church of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)[1]. He saw a number (of people) buying the episcopate for money, and Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) cast into his heart the fire of love for the episcopate, but he had nothing (wherewith) to pay for it. He presented himself to Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs), the patriarch, and he said : "I desire only that thou shouldst clothe me with the vesture of the episcopate and make me (bishop) of a depopulated see, such as Dabaḳûa[2], even though there be nothing in it save three minas (μνᾶ), for I am not able to endure this (matter) on account of the idea which overpowered me, when I beheld those whom thou didst consecrate for money, and they were unworthy, whilst I am rejected on account of the fact that I am poor and have nothing, (although) thou knowest me". The aforementioned patriarch was very modest, as a gentle lamb, and he had not done anything of what we have mentioned of his own accord. Even the bread which he ate, if they[3] left him alone (and) did not give him to eat, he would not ask for it (the bread), and likewise (with) the water which he drank. He was as (one) dumb. His relatives and his disciples dominated him and they were directing him in everything. They were those who used to take money from him whom they presented to him (the patriarch), in order that he (the patriarch) might make of him (the candidate) what they wanted. If he (the patriarch) wished to feed a man with bread, he was not able (to do so) without their charity. If a man solicited anything from him (the patriarch) he would send him to them. He who solicited from him the priesthood, he would send to them that they might bargain with him, otherwise, they would not give him (the patriarch) the possibility to ordain him.

When this monk whom we have mentioned, came to him (the patriarch), he sent him to them as usual. He (the monk) went to them and he spoke

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[1] Cf. p. 118, n. 3.

[2] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 37.

[3] *i. e.* the patriarch's relatives and disciples.

When the bishop of Samannûd [1] heard (of this), he came to it (the village) and built in it (the church) a fine altar and consecrated it and went away, for Šubrâ Damânah [2] belonged to him, and it was a right of his see. When Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ) the aforesaid bishop heard of this, he came to the aforementioned church *fol. 148 v° *and demolished the altar which the bishop of Samannûd [1] had built, and he built another one. When the bishop of Samannûd [1] heard of this, he was greatly offended, and he came thither, and there was a multitude with him, and Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ) the bishop was there. They assembled and they quarrelled and fighting broke out between them, and they did not disperse until blood had been shed between them. Look now at that bishop who amassed the large fortune, how he fought for a thing of so little (value), so that God caused His wrath to descend upon that village (κώμη) and laid it (the village) waste until now, and the name of the village (κώμη) is S n d grâ!

In their days, namely, those of the shepherds [3], instruction also ceased and no one warned another or said to him : "Cast out the mote from thine eye" [4], lest he should say to him : "Cast out the beam first from thine eye" [5]. The heads of the Church used previously to look for a person in whom was learning and knowledge that they might make him a priest, if a number of trustworthy (people) witnessed to his continency and learning from his childhood (upwards). Matters were (now) reversed, and the intelligent scholar was of no account, especially if he were a poor man, but the ignorant and he who was without intelligence was honoured and revered by them, especially if he were rich, that they might advance him to the exalted rank (τάξις) of the ranks (τάξις) of the priests. For that reason, the hand of the Lord came down upon them and His wrath descended upon the Church by reason of His knowledge that we were unworthy to enter her door, as at the time when He caused His wrath to descend upon Jerusalem (Yarûšalîm) until she was laid waste and her inhabitants and her sons and her daughters were made captive.

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[1] Cf. p. 179, n. 6. — [2] Cf. p. 179, n. 8. — [3] *i. e.* the bishops. — [4] *Matt.* 7, 4*. — [5] *Matt.* 7, 5*.

brought out the piece of paper from his mouth, and when his brother entered, he delivered it to him and he said to him : "May the Lord not reprove thee, but forgive thee ! Thou hast indeed lost what was recorded on the three other pieces of paper on account of thine absence from me", and when he had said this, his spirit left (him). Then he (Macarius) enshrouded him and buried him. Then he read the piece of paper and found in the place (mentioned) ten thousand dînârs. His (Menas') brother Macarius (Maḳârah) was a good man, and he took the money and built with it a Skênê (*σκηνή*) [1] in the name of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) in Wâdî Habîb [2]. It is the beautiful sanctuary (haikal) to the south of the sanctuary (haikal) of Benjamin (Binyâmîn) [3]. He spent on it three thousand dînârs, and gave a great sum in alms, and he built many churches in the Rîf (ar-Rîf) [4] of Miṣr [5]. When his death was approaching, they asked him if he had any commands for them to perform. He said : "The Lord is a witness unto me that I found that my brother had ten thousand dînârs, and I acquired many things each year from the see and from what I received for (acting as) secretary to the Synod (*σύνοδος*), and that I spent all that. The Lord is a witness unto me that nothing remained to me save one dînâr and my houses. Lo, I am being translated from this world and I adjure you to give it (the dînâr) to the priests who shall read (the funeral service) over me".

This bishop Menas (Mînâ) who bequeathed this large fortune was not content with that, but he repeopled a village (*κώμη*) between his see and the see of Samannûd [6]. Ten houses in it became inhabited, and they built there a small church five or six cubits long of bricks (ⲧⲱⲃⲓ) of mud. The village (*κώμη*) was between Basîs [7] and Šubrâ Damânah [8].

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[1] Cf. p. 113, n. 5.

[2] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 274.

[3] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 37.

[4] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[5] Egypt.

[6] Amélineau, p. 411.

[7] Unidentified.

[8] Cf. Aziz Suryal Atiya, *Kitâb Qawânîn al-Dawâwîn* by Ibn Mammâtî, Cairo, 1943, p. 155.

bishops used to ordain to the priesthood him who was unfit and without understanding.

A trustworthy man related to me that Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ), bishop of Ṭânah[1], of whom we already made mention in this biography[2], when we said that Philotheus (Fîlâtâûs), the patriarch, dwelt in his residence at Damrû[3] after his death, at the time of his (Menas') death, divided what he had collected in the way of money into four parts and buried them in four places. He (Menas) occupied the see for a number of years till he became old. He had a brother whose name was Macarius (Maḳârah), bishop of Upper (al-ʿUliyâ) Minûf[4], secretary of the Synod (σύνοδος). He sent to his brother a messenger that he should come to him (Menas) in haste. He was expecting his arrival and his eyes were looking out for him on the road, but he (Macarius) delayed two days and did not come to him. He (Menas) wrote four pieces of paper on which he mentioned the four places in which (was) the money, and he placed them in his hand till the moment of the arrival of his brother, that he might deliver them to him. Since he (Macarius) delayed (coming to) him (Menas), and the trouble and agony of death came upon him, he said to his disciple : "See, perhaps, if my brother has indeed arrived", and the disciple went out and returned to him and said to him : "He has not arrived". Then he (Menas) was troubled and he cast one of the four pieces of paper into his mouth and chewed it up and cast it (out). Then he said to the disciple : "Do you see my brother coming?" He went out again and returned and said to him (Menas) : "He has not arrived". Then he (Menas) chewed up the second piece of paper and cast it (out), and he did likewise with the third, and there remained in his hand one. Then he said to the disciple : "See if my brother has arrived". He (the disciple) went out to look for him, and he delayed (coming back) to him (Menas), and he (Menas) felt the pains of the suffering of death. Then he cast the fourth piece of paper into his mouth, but before he had chewed it up, the disciple entered unto him in haste and said to him : "Lo, thy brother has arrived". He (Menas)

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[1] Amélineau, p. 259. — [2] Cf. p. 151. — [3] Amélineau, p. 505. — [4] Amélineau, p. 251.

shall become vacant (through the death) of its bishop in this district, it is understood that it shall be for thee, (and) thou shalt become bishop of it". Then they ordained him hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος) and clothed him in black. When the see of Minûf al-ʿUlyâ [1] became vacant, they made him (bishop) of it.

Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) remained (in peace), after he had become patriarch [2], for seven years, and the Church was tranquil (and) in peace. After this, the Lord did not endure patiently the deeds of the shepherds *who were at that time, and God brought down His wrath upon the churches on account of them. They were removed from them, for they were become as wâlîs who lorded over the priests. They invented pretexts for collecting money by every means, and they trafficked in the Church of God on account of the love of silver and gold, and they sold the gift of God for money, but they lost and did not gain. If a man added to the Diyârîah [3] of any church [4] a single dînâr, they would fall upon the first steward (ḳayyim) who was in charge of the affairs of the church, as was incumbent (upon him), and they would drive him away from it and would hand it over, on account of the dînâr which had been added, to him who was unfitted for its (the church's) service and (who) did not occupy himself with its affairs. Indeed, it was witnessed against a steward (ḳayyim) that he used to drink the clear wine and to mix the sediment with water and to clarify it and to present it to the priests to raise it [5] in the sanctuary (haikal); and (it was testified) that the priests used to raise in the sanctuary (haikal) sufficient oblation (ḳurbân) [6] for the whole week, so that there might remain over from it a large amount, with the object of not inconveniencing (themselves) with celebrating the Liturgy. The oblation (ḳurbân) used to remain in the churches until it became corrupt, because the

*fol. 148 r°

(1) Amélineau, p. 251.

(2) *Lit.* his patriarchate.

(3) Cf. p. 117, n. 3.

(4) *Lit.* a church of the churches.

(5) For this ceremony in the Liturgy, cf. John Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day,* p. 37.

(6) *i. e.* to reserve the Sacrament.

day to the upper (part) of the church to bring down a jar of vinegar for the cook who used to prepare what the bishops ate. While he was coming down the ladder, he slipped (and) fell and the jar was with him (and) it was not broken and nothing of it was spilled. When the bishops and all who were present saw this miracle, they said : "This is he who is worthy of the[1] object[2] for which we are assembled". Thereupon, all of them said with joy (and) with one mouth : "This (one) in truth is a man of God". Then they asked the inhabitants of Alexandria about him and about his manner of life, and all of them said : "We have never heard an evil word about him, but he is poor, wretched and pure". They (the bishops) said : "It is well and good that he[3] who is thus should be appointed (patriarch). He is better than he who comes to us with a strong hand by order of the Sulṭân, and we shall be as slaves to him all our time". They agreed with the Alexandrians on his consecration, and they took him and consecrated him patriarch. In the evening of that day on which they consecrated him, Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Bišr arrived with the decree (siğill) and accompanied by the two masters (ustadhain). When he arrived outside the city, one of his acquaintances met him and said to him : "A patriarch has already been consecrated". He said to him : "And who is he?" He said to him : "Zacharias (Zakhâryâ) the priest who (was) in the Church of Michael (Mîkâyîl) (known as) an-Nûbah". When he heard this, a great trembling attacked him in his bones, and it did not depart from him for the rest of his life. He went to his house in great distress by reason of the violence of the trembling, and he became ill on account of this, and the news (of this) reached the bishops and they marvelled. Then they were afraid of the Sulṭân and they said : "We do not know what will happen to us". Then they counselled the father, the patriarch, Abba Zacharias (Anbâ Zakhâryâs) to console[4] him (Abraham) with a bishopric so that they should be safe from the wrath of the Sulṭân on his account, and they said to Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Bišr : "This matter has indeed been (arranged) by God praised be He! Now, the first see that

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[1] *Lit.* this. — [2] *i. e.* being elected patriarch. — [3] *Lit.* this. — [4] *Lit.* reassure his heart.

the wâlîs, and everyone in the city hearkened to him and obeyed him. He was a wealthy merchant in the lands of Miṣr [1] and he used to give gifts to and to honour [2] the chiefs of Miṣr [1], and they did not contradict him in what he desired. He asked and prayed for the patriarchate until a decree (siğill) was written for him. They (the wâlîs) sent two masters (ustadhain) in his company to Alexandria to assist him in what he wished (to do) and to oblige the Alexandrians to appoint him patriarch in the place of Philotheus (Fîlâtâûs) the patriarch who had gone to his rest, since it was the turn of the Alexandrians this time to appoint the patriarch, and the Council was in Alexandria. The hearts of a number of its inhabitants were agreeable to his becoming patriarch [3], and they wrote to Miṣr [4] to this effect. When the bishops were informed of this, they did not agree with them on this point of view, and the matter was difficult for them, because the Canon (*κανών*), as they said, would not allow them (the supporters of his candidature) (to do) this. They determined to stop the matter, and (that) everyone of them should go to his see.

At the time when they were assembled at the Church of my lord Mark (Mârî Markuṣ) the Evangelist (known as) al-Ḳamḥâ, there was at Alexandria in the Church of Michael (Mîkâyîl) the Archangel a priest, an elder, (šaikh) whose name was Zacharias (Zakhâryâ), and he was steward (ḳayyim) of all the churches of Alexandria, and the bishops were staying with him in the church, and he used to minister to them during their residence at Alexandria. He did not possess any qualifications in their eyes [5], nor was he held in esteem [6] by the priests of Alexandria, and everyone used to make use of his services for what concerned him. But God, Who alone performs wonders, Who chose David (Dâwûd) from the pasture of the flocks to be a shepherd of Israel (Isrâyîl), His inheritance [7], Who raises up the poor from the earth and the wretched from the dunghill and seats him upon the throne of glory [8], (was) He Who chose this humble unnumbered man. It (was) that he (Zacharias) went up one

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[1] Egypt. — [2] Or "treat well" or "offer hospitality". — [3] *Lit.* patriarchate. — [4] Cairo. — [5] *Lit.* souls. — [6] *Lit.* nor did he have esteem among. — [7] Cf. *Ps.* 77, 70, 71*. — [8] Cf. *Ps.* 112, 7, 8*.

immediately silenced [1]. When he had said this, a member of his withered up and remained withered up. The duration of his patriarchate was twenty-four years and eight months, and he went to his rest on the twelfth day of Hatûr [2].

It was said concerning his family that they found that he possessed great riches from all that he had collected during his patriarchate, and they divided it among themselves, and they were four brothers, and the money was spent by them. I, Michael (Mîkhâyîl), saw one [3] of them in a time of dearth, and he was begging.

In his (Philotheus') days al-ʿAzîz, king of Miṣr [4], died, and his son al-Ḥâkim sat (on the throne), and he was very young. Extraordinary things happened [5] to him, and we shall mention some of them, with the help of God to Whom be glory and power for ever end ever. Amen.

*fol. 147 v°

* THE TWENTY-FIFTH BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH. ABBA ZACHARIAS (ANBÂ ZAKHÂRYÂS) THE PATRIARCH, AND HE IS THE SIXTY-FOURTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER [6].

When it was the reign [7] of al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah who was called al-Imâm al-Manṣûr, and the Throne of Alexandria had become [8] vacant, the Synod (σύνοδος) assembled to appoint a patriarch. While they were taking counsel together, there was at Alexandria a rich man whose name was Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Bišr (who) enjoyed the respect of

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(1) Cf. p. 172, n. 6.

(2) *i. e.* November-December.

(3) *Lit.* a man.

(4) Egypt.

(5) *Lit.* were.

(6) * Fol. 147 v°. A marginal note in red, complete in MS. A, in red and black, reads : "This father, the strong champion and the victor through Christ, sat (on the Throne) in the reign (*lit.* kingdom) of al-Ḥâkim, and he endured great adversities, and through his prayers his people was saved and overcame (them), and all of this is explained in this biography".

(7) *Lit.* When it was in the kingdom.

(8) *Lit.* was.

to him the words, but he was not able to utter a single word. Then he sat down and Abba Mark (Anbâ Markus), bishop of al-Bahnasâ [1] went up and performed the Liturgy (kuddâs) and the Fraction [2] and communicated the people. The patriarch was carried to the house of Abû Malîḥ ibn Kuṭîn, the prefect (ʿâmil) of Alexandria, who was the father of Abû'l-Farağ and of ʿUbaid. The father, the patriarch, continued silent until the ninth hour of the day. They gave him to drink white clay and rose water. When he had recovered, those who were assembled asked him to make known to them the reason for what had come over him, but he refused (to speak). They persisted in (their) request, and then he said : "O my sons, when I lifted up the oblation (*δῶρον*) and before I made the sign of the cross over it, I saw the niche [3] split open and there came forth from it a hand from the top of the vault downwards, and the hand made the sign of the cross over the oblation (*δῶρον*). Then it (the oblation) was split in my hand, and I was

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[1] Cf. p. 172, n. 3.

[2] Cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[3] The term شاق (the spelling شاو may be ignored) occurs several times in Abû Ṣâliḥ's (or rather Abû'l-Makârim's *Chronicle*) *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,* edited by B. A. T. Evetts, foll. 24 *b,* 41 *b,* 46 *a* and 59 *a.* There is also an alternate spelling جاق on foll. 5 *a* and 31 *a.* Its meaning, namely, niche, apse, or mural aperture (cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 70 and W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* p. 1894), is confirmed by the context of the various passages in which it occurs; *e. g.* انه جعل مكان الشاق قبلة "he turned the place of the niche (apse) into a Kiblah". Its position at the east end of the sanctuary is clear from the incident recorded above, and in Evetts, *op. cit.,* fol. 31 *a,* we read that a church was burnt to the ground ما خلا الجاق وجانبى الاسكنا البحرى والقبلى "except for the niche (apse) and the sides of the northern and southern skênês". In Abû'l-Barakât's *Scala Magna,* edited by A. Kircher, *Lingua aegyptiaca restituta,* etc., p. 217, شاق is given as the rendering of ⲡⲓⲥⲟⲣⲓⲍⲓⲛ which appears to be from the Greek *σύριγξ.* This niche (apse) is also mentioned in the *Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar* edited by G. Horner (London, 1902), pp. 386-389. Here, the Coptic word ϣⲟⲩϣⲧ (niche, alcove, cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary,* p. 608 *b*) is rendered by the word طاق. This word according to W. Lane, *op. cit.,* p. 1894 is said to be a Persian word arabicized, and it is possible that the forms جاق and شاق are merely variant spellings of طاق.

attention to our lands, but they (the lands) are abandoned without a shepherd, and our bishops and our priests are dead, and the churches are ruined, and we have learned that this trial has come down upon us as a just judgment in return for what we did with the metropolitan (muṭrân)". When the letters reached George (Ġirġis), the king of Nubia (an-Nûbah), and he had learned of their contents, he sent on his part letters and messengers to the patriarch Philotheus (Fîlâtâûs), and he explained to him in them all that the king of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabašah) had mentioned to him, and he begged him to have compassion on his people. He (Philotheus) acceded to his request, and he consecrated for them a monk from the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)[1], whose name was Daniel (Dânyâl), and he sent him to them as metropolitan (muṭrân). They received him with joy, and God removed from them His[2] wrath and put an end to the affair of the woman who had risen up against them.

In the days of this father there were manifested many miracles to which truthful (and) trustworthy people bore witness. Among them (was) that the sun was darkened from the third hour of the day until the sixth hour, and the darkness was like night, and the stars appeared in the heaven, and the people wept and were afflicted and they thought that it was a matter which would not end, but afterwards God had pity and the sun (re)appeared.

Surûr ibn Ġirġâ, the archdeacon (*ἀρχιδιάκονος*) of Alexandria, related that he was present one day in the Church of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) the Evangelist, in Alexandria, and in it (there was) Abba Philotheus (Anbâ Fîlâtâûs), the patriarch, and with him a number of the bishops, among whom (were) Abba Mark (Anbâ Marḳuṣ), bishop of al-Bahnasâ[3] and Abba Severus (Anbâ Sawîrus), bishop of Abû Ṣîr[4], and that the patriarch went up to the sanctuary (haikal) of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) and stood upon the black flagstone and celebrated the Liturgy. When he lifted up the oblation (*δῶρον*)[5], he remained silent[6] and was not able to utter a word. Then the two aforesaid bishops pronounced

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[1] Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — [2] *Lit.* the. — [3] Amélineau, p. 90. — [4] Amélineau, p. 7. — [5] Cf. Bute, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. — [6] *i. e.* he had a stroke.

of the Melkites (al-Malakîah) through her influence, because she had power, and he (Arsenius) prevailed over our churches in Fusṭâṭ Miṣr [1]. We had in Ḳasr aš-Šamʿ [2] two churches under the name of the Lady, the Pure Mistress; one of the two of them was the Muʿallaḳah [3], and the other was in the Lane (zuḳâḳ) of Abû Ḥuṣain [4]. He (Arsenius) wished to take the Muʿallaḳah [3], and our chiefs had many troubles and quarrels with him until he took the church of the Lady in the Lane (zuḳâḳ) of Abû Ḥuṣain [4], and the Muʿallaḳah [3] remained to us.

In his (Philotheus') days, the king of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabašah) sent to the king of Nubia (an-Nûbah), a youth whose name was George (Ǧirǧis), and made known to him how the Lord had chastened him, he and the inhabitants of his land (χώρα). It was that a woman, a queen of Banî al-Hamwiyah had revolted against him and against his country (χώρα). * She took captive from it many people and burned many cities and destroyed churches and drove him (the king) from place to place. That which befell him was a retribution for what the king who (was) before him had done to the metropolitan (muṭrân) in the days of the father Abba Cosmas (Anbâ Ḳuzmâ), as we have explained earlier, through his falsification and his fraud. He (the king) said to him (George) in the letter which he sent to him : "I desire that thou shouldst help me and partake with me in the fatigue, for the sake of God and for the sake of the unity of the Faith, and that thou shouldst write a letter on thy part to the father, the patriarch, in Miṣr [5] to beg him to absolve us and to absolve our lands and to pray for us, that God may remove from us and from our country this trial, and may grant to us that he (the patriarch) may consecrate for us a metropolitan (muṭrân), as was the custom of our fathers, and that he may pray for us, that God may remove His wrath from us. I have mentioned this to thee, O brother, for fear lest the Christian (Naṣrâniyah) religion pass away and cease among us, for lo, six patriarchs have sat (on the Throne) and have not paid

*fol. 147 rº

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[1] Amélineau, p. 538. — [2] Cf. p. 108, n. 3. — [3] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 206-235. — [4] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 247-249. — [5] Egypt.

from me the dînârs for his ordaining me priest, and (yet) kept silent and did not forbid them and did not send them away".

The father Philotheus (Fîlâtâûs), the patriarch, persisted in collecting money and (in) eating and drinking. It is said that he constructed a bath in his house, and that he used to enter it every day, and when he went out, he was censed with very much incense. Then he would sit judging, commanding and interdicting until the fourth hour of the day, (and) then he would rise. When it was the sixth hour, there was made ready for him what he required in the way of food and drink and fruits, and he would rise up (and) enter his house, and certain people of the inhabitants of Damrû [1] and of his family and of his near relatives whose usual custom it was to sit with him and to drink with him, would present themselves to him, and he would eat and drink with them, and no one might approach him for the rest of the day [2] until the next day. Many a time he would sit down to eat and to drink from early in the morning (bukrah) or (from) the third hour of the day, except (on) the days on which fasting was obligatory. When he persisted (in doing) this, God chastened him with a punishment through an accident which happened to him [3]. This (was) that (he entered) on a certain day into the bath and with him there was his disciple (who) was ministering to him. He (the disciple) went out to fetch cleansing paste (dalûk) and returned, and he found him lying on the ground senseless and unconscious. Then he carried him and brought him out from it (the bath). They caused physicians to be brought to him, and they wearied themselves in treating him, but they were unable (to do anything) for him by any means, for the hand of the Lord had smitten him, and he remained thus until the day of his death.

The king al-ʿAzîz lillah ibn al-Muʿizz li-dîni 'llah had received a son from a concubine of his, a Greek (Rûmîah), and he (this son) sat on the throne [4] after him, and he was surnamed al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah [5]. The aforesaid concubine who was the mother of al-Ḥâkim had a brother whose name was Arsenius (Arsânî). She set him up as patriarch

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[1] Amélineau, p. 505. — [2] *Lit.* his day. — [3] *Lit.* an affair which happened to him by chance. — [4] *Lit.* kingdom. — [5] A. D. 996-1021.

(Bûluṣ) the aforesaid said to him with an obeisance (μετάνοια) : "Depart not from me until thou conceal me in the earth and receive the blessing. I shall not remain in the world beyond two days[1]. When I die, hasten to bury me before the Muslims learn (of it) and take my body and burn it with fire". His saying was a spirit of a prophecy speaking through him.

It happened[2] that when after two days, he went to his rest, as he had said, Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) may God put him to shame!—noised abroad news of him (Paul) in al-Maḥallah[3] and Sandafâ[4]. Then the inhabitants of al-Maḥallah[3] crossed over to Sandafâ[4], and the inhabitants of the two cities gathered together in less than an hour, and they surrounded the church in which he (Paul) went to his rest. Then the aforesaid deacon Theodore (Tîdra) was perplexed and did not know what he should do with his (Paul's) body. While he was walking perplexed in the church, his foot went down beneath the threshold. He examined the place and found it a beautiful, clean, concealed cellar. Then he lowered the body of Saint Paul (Bûluṣ) into it and filled in the earth and replaced the flagstone as it was (before) and arranged the place as it should be. Then he opened the door, and those who were assembled entered and demanded his (Paul's) body, but they did not find it. They went round the whole church, but they did not find it, and they went away ashamed. This deacon Theodore (Tîdra) was he who explained to me the case of this Saint Paul (Bûluṣ) ibn Rağâ from its beginning to its end according to what he (Paul) had related[5] to him by his true mouth. He wrote what he (Paul) had said and related about himself, how he (Paul) had said : "All that happened to me in the way of torture, and what befell me in the way of degradation did not trouble me, with the exception of three things (which) were the coming together of my brother with my concubine in my presence, and the drowning of my son from her in my presence while I was looking at him, but more serious than either of them was when the patriarch looked on at me while his disciples were demanding

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[1] *Lit.* There remains not to me in the world save two days. — [2] *Lit.* It was. — [3] Cf. p. 168, n. 6. — [4] Cf. p. 168, note 5. — [5] *Lit.* his relation.

possessed[1], they seized him by force and ordained him priest in the holy Skênê (σκηνή) of Benjamin (Binyâmîn)[2]. The disciples of the patriarch demanded from him the dînârs according to their custom, and this was exceedingly difficult for him, for he did not have anything. A certain archon (ἄρχων) saw them asking him, and they troubled him with the demand. Then he (the archon) paid to them what they demanded from him. When news of him reached his father that he had become a priest, his heart did not support it with patience, but he sent dînârs to certain of the Arabs (ʿUrbân) who were in that desert so that they might kill him. When certain of the monks heard (of this), they informed him, and they said to him : "Thou hast done what was necessary and hast proclaimed the Name of Christ in the place in which it was not necessary to proclaim it. Now deliver not up thyself[3] unto death, but go to the Rîf (ar-Rîf)[4] and remain hidden in it". He obeyed them and went forth to Sandafâ[5] and abode there for two years, and he became steward (ḳayyim) in the Church of the martyr Theodore (Tâdrus), being assidious in its service night and day. Then Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) entered into the heart of certain people of them (the inhabitants), and they noised abroad the news of him in Sandafâ[5] and al-Maḥallah[6], and they related the affair of his case. This was two days before his death. It happened that there was present a deacon from among the inhabitants of Minûf[7], whose name was Theodore (Tîdra) ibn Menas (Mînâ). He was at that time a secretary of the Synod (σύνοδος) of the see of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳus) the Evangelist, and it was he whose *office I, the wretched Michael (Mîkhâyîl), the compiler of this biography, took after his death. When he entered the aforesaid church at Sandafâ[5], he found Saint Paul (Bûluṣ) ibn Raǧâ ill with a severe fever. Paul

*fol. 146 v°

[1] *Lit.* what was upon him in the way of piety, etc.

[2] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 42.

[3] *Lit.* thy soul.

[4] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[5] Cf. H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte,* in *Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, Textes et Documents,* Le Caire, 1943, pp. 36 and 40.

[6] Amélineau, p. 262.

[7] Amélineau, p. 251.

which we say over the bread and the wine when we place them both on the altar. Then the bread is transmuted and becomes flesh and the wine becomes blood in a mystical manner, as God has shewn to thee to-day, but they are both outwardly bread and wine, because no one in the world is able to take raw meat or to drink spurting blood; only God has manifested to thee this hidden, true and holy mystery for the salvation of thy soul". Then he (the priest) read to him the books of the Church and explained to him the Mysteries of the Christian (al-Masîḥî) belief, so that his heart was reassured to enter it (Christianity), and he recognized its grandeur and the truth of it and he ascertained its teachings and its soundness. Then he commanded his companions to depart and he spent the night there with the priest, and he baptized him at night and he became a Christian (Naṣrânî). When the morrow came [1], his companions brought to him the beast, (but) he sent them away and he did not speak to them. When they learned the news, they went to his father and informed him of this, and he grieved sorely [2], and he sent to bring him (al-Hâšimî) against his will. He spoke to him with tenderness and with severity. He grew weary with him on account of all the means which he tried, and he multiplied for him at one time humiliation(s) and at another time intimidation(s), but he was unable (to obtain) anything from him, and he (al-Hâšimî) did not renounce his opinion. Thereupon, he delivered him up to torture and he was tortured exceedingly [3], but he did not renounce his belief, and then his head was cut off with the sword for the Name of the Lord Christ, and his martyrdom was accomplished — may his blessings descend upon us and may his intercession be with us. As for his holy body, the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) of Baghdâd honoured and venerated it, and they built over it a church which is now known as the Church of al-Hâšimî.

When the Saint Paul (Bûluṣ) ibn Raǧâ had completed the construction of the church which (is dedicated) to Michael (Mîkâyîl) at Râs al-Khalîǧ [4], he returned twice to Wâdî Habîb [5], and he abode there two years. When the monks saw the piety, learning and knowledge which he

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[1] *Lit.* was. — [2] *Lit.* a severe grieving. — [3] *Lit.* a severe torturing. — [4] Cf. p. 163, n. 5. — [5] Cf. p. 113, n. 4.

of the Liturgies (ḳudâsât), and most of the priests abstained from (celebrating) the Liturgy (ḳuddâs) for fear of this, but it was the help of God (that) was attracting him, yet he did not know (it).

When, on a certain day, he entered one[1] of the churches according to his custom, God opened his eyes and he perceived in the paten the oblation (ḳurbân) as a beautiful, noble child, and at the time of the Fraction[2] he perceived (that) the priest had immolated him and (that) he drew off his blood into the chalice and (that) he divided his flesh into pieces in the paten. Al-Hâšimî was astounded and unable to move.

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* Then the priest went out to communicate the people with the flesh, and in like manner the deacon with the chalice, with the blood, while he (al-Hâšimî) was looking at them. He marvelled and said to the soldiers : "Do ye not see this doer, the maker, namely, the priest?" They said to him : "We see him". He said to them : "Shall we endure patiently this (man) taking a child, immolating him and dividing his flesh among this great multitude and giving them to drink of his blood?" They said to him : "May God help thee, O our master, we see nothing save bread and wine". Then his fear and his amazement increased. The people remained amazed at his standing (thus) stupified, and (that) he did not do to the Eucharist (ḳurbân) as his custom was. When the priest had finished and the people had gone out, he summoned the priest and told him what he had seen. He (the priest) said to him : "O our master, God forbid[3]; it was nothing save bread and wine". When he (al-Hâšimî) knew that this mystery had not been manifested save to him alone, he said to him : "I desire that thou dost make known to me the mystery of this Eucharist (ḳurbân) and its origin". The priest made known to him, how the Lord Christ had taken bread and drink, and divided this among His disciples and said to them : 'Take and eat : This is My Body, and drink : This is My Blood. Drink of It all of you (for) a remission of your sins'. "The disciples taught us a prayer

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[1] *Lit.* a church of the churches.

[2] Cf. John Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day,* London, 1882, p. 102.

[3] *Lit.* I take refuge with God for thee.

the Discernment; Book on the Order of the Priesthood, twelve (chapters) on the Rites (τάξις) of the Church; Book on the Differences of the Sects; Book on Judgments; Book on the Exposition of the Union. Some of these books have a different name from that which we have stated. Perhaps, the book has two names.

Severus (Sâwîrus) the aforesaid bishop and al-Wâḍiḥ ibn Raǧâ, the two Saints, used to consult together a good deal of their time, and to examine the books of God for the enlightenment of their minds and their nature, so that they might interpret spiritual books. Then al-Wâḍiḥ ibn Raǧâ wrote two books of commentary in the Arabic language, one of the two he called "The Evident (al-Wâḍiḥ), that is, the Confession", and he set forth in it the errors of those who are opposed to us, and he produced arguments against them from their book. The other book he called "Rarities of the Commentators (Nawâdir al Mufassirîn)", and he consumed those who are opposed to us by means of these two books, and he produced arguments against them from their religion, as did Samson (Ṣamṣûm), the mighty one, when he fastened brands to the tails of foxes and let them loose into the cornfield of his enemies and consumed it[1]. He wrote in them (the two books) an exposition of his case concerning himself.

He said in them (the two books) that the bishop Abba Severus (Anbâ Sâwîrus) ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ had related to him that there was in Baghdâd a man, a chief, the son of a king, known as al-Hâšimî. He never occupied himself with anything of the affairs of the kingdom, neither with garments nor with camels, save that he used to ride (about) every day, and with him there were his soldiers, and he used to watch the churches of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) at the time of the Liturgy (ḳuddâs), and he would enter them mounted, and he would order the Eucharist (ḳurbân) to be taken from the sanctuary (haikal), and they would break it and mix it with the dust, and he would overturn the chalice. Whenever he did this in a church, he would go to another and he would do in it the same thing, so that the churches of Baghdâd were on the point of being deprived

[1] Cf. *Judges* XV, 4-5.

the name of the great angel Michael (Mikhâyîl)[1], and he built it.

There were in Miṣr[2] people of Ramâdiyat, (and) they went by night and stole the wood of this church. When it was morning, this Saint, Ibn Rağâ, saw some of them in that district (nâhiyah), and he said to them : "I know that yesterday ye took the wood, and I know the place in which ye have hidden it. Return it to its place, otherwise I shall complain of you to the wâlî of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah)". They denied this, and they said : "We have not taken anything". He said to them : "I shall go to al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah, and he, if God will, will order the wood to be taken from where ye have put it and ye shall suffer harm from that". They were afraid and returned the whole of the wood to the church.

This Saint, Ibn Rağâ, called himself al-Wâḍiḥ, and he became a friend of the learned, eminent man, Abba Severus (Anbâ Sâwîrus), bishop of al-Ašmûnain[3], known as Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ whom we have mentioned before, he who composed twenty books, besides homilies (mayâmir), commentaries, and answers and questions by Abî ʿl-Bišr ibn Ǵârûd, the Egyptian (al-Maṣrî) writer. These are the names of the twenty books : Book on the Unity; Book on the Union; Book of the Splendid, a refutation of the Jews (al-Yahûd); Book of the Exposition and Detailed Account, a refutation of the Nestorians (an-Nasṭûriyah); Book concerning Religion, written for the Wazîr Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ); Book on the Arrangement of the Pearl; Book on the Councils; Book on the curing of sadness and the healing of affliction; Book on the Councils; Book of Commentary on the Faith; Book of the Announcement, a refutation of the Jews (al-Yahûd); Book of Refutation of Saʿîd Ibn Baṭrîḳ; Book on the Signification of the Children of the Faithful and the Impious, and on how the Two Souls rise; Book of the Elucidation, namely, the Lamp of the Soul; Book of the Biographies; (Book of)

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[1] Cf. al-Maḳrîzî, extract in B. T. A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, etc., p. 340.

[2] Cairo.

[3] Amélineau, p. 167.

him : "When the lad goes down with thee in the evening that thou mayest teach him swimming, drown him, and I will be present that I may see him and may know that it is he". The swimmer agreed (to do) this. When it was evening, Ibn Raǧâ, the witness, took his son, the monk, the father of the lad, and went with him to the river [1]. The lad went down with his teacher to the river [1] that he might (teach) him to swim. When he was in the middle of the river [1], he (the teacher) drowned him, while his father, the monk, was looking on. Then his (Ibn Raǧâ's) father took him back to his house and imprisoned him in another part of it, and wrote a letter concerning him to the Sulṭân —the Calif (al-Khalîfah) at that time was al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah [2]— as the Lord saith in the Gospel : "A father shall deliver up his son unto death" [3]. The Calif (al-Khalîfah) commanded him to be brought with his father before the Supreme Judge (Ḳâḍî al-Ḳuḍâh) and the witnesses, and that they should dispute with him. If anything were proved against him, he should be put to death, but if nothing were proved against him, then he should be set free. When they assembled for this (purpose) in the presence of a good mediator, al-Ḥâkim bi Amr Allah caused him (Ibn Raǧâ) to stand up, but no proof of his father's was established against him, as the Lord Christ saith : "For I will give you a tongue and wisdom that no one shall be able to withstand" [4]. * Then they departed disappointed and ashamed, and no one addressed a word to him (Ibn Raǧâ) anymore. Then al-Ḥâkim commanded him to be set free (and) to go whithersoever he wished. He (Ibn Raǧâ) went to Râs al-Khalîǧ [5] and he started on the construction of a church there between Birkit al-Ḥabaš [6] and Banî Wâyil [7] under

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[1] *Lit.* sea, *i. e.* the Nile.

[2] A. D. 996-1021.

[3] Cf. *Matt.* 10, 21*.

[4] Cf. *Lk.* 21, 15*.

[5] Cf. P. Casanova, *Essai de reconstruction topographique de la ville d'Al-Fousṭâṭ ou Miṣr,* in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire,* t. XXXV (1919).

[6] Cf. P. Casanova, *Essai de reconstruction,* etc., t. I, p. xxvi.

[7] Cf. P. Casanova, *Essai de reconstruction,* etc., première partie, pp. 3-60.

but he did not taste anything of it. When six days had passed [1], his strength was weakened, but he was assidious in fasting and prayer night and day [2]. There appeared to him on the seventh day the monk who had appeared to him first on the way to Mecca (Makkah), and in his hand there was pure bread. He (the youth) thought that he was a spectre, and he did not eat anything of it (the bread) until he knew that something had appeared to him from God. Then the monk said to him : "Knowest thou me?" He said to him : "Yea, thou art he whom I saw in a dream three times on the way to Mecca (Makkah)". He said to him : "Yea, I am that (one), and I am Macarius (Maḳârah), the father of Wâdî Habîb [3]. Now I have been sent unto thee to console thee. Be strong and patient, for thou shalt have a great reward". Then he departed from him, and he (the youth) took that bread and ate, after he had made the sign of the cross over it, and his soul was strengthened. Then his father brought him forth from that place, and he marvelled at his remaining without food and drink (for) this period, and (that) his countenance was not changed. He (his father) spoke with him about renouncing what he had done [4] and he grew weary with him, but he did not prevail over him in any way. He (the youth) had formerly a concubine, and he had received a son from her before his going to Mecca (Makkah). His father ordered his elder brother to bring her, and when she was brought, he commanded him (the elder brother) to come together with her in his (the youth's) presence. He did that, and he (the father) gave her to him. His (the youth's) little son was learning swimming, and he (the father of Ibn Rağâ) said to his believing, saintly father : "If thou do not obey me and renounce what thou hast done [5], then I shall drown thy son in thy presence, him [6] whom thou lovest". He said : "Yea, I love him, and he is my son, yet I love the Lord more than him". Then he (the father of Ibn Rağâ) caused the swimmer who used (to teach) him (the lad) swimming to be brought, and he paid to him secretly two dînârs, and he said to

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[1] *Lit.* it was after six days. — [2] *Lit.* his night and his day. — [3] Cf. p. 113, n. 4. — [4] *Lit.* what he is upon him. — [5] *Lit.* what thou art upon him. — [6] *Lit.* this.

brought him out and presented to him food, but he did not eat anything of it. He was as if he had come forth from a feast or a banquet, and (as) one (who is) without need of food * or drink, as saith Isaiah (Išaʿyâ) the prophet : "Those who are bound to the Lord shall renew their strength. They shall not hunger nor shall they thirst" [1]. When his affair had wearied them, they took counsel to kill him lest they should be dishonoured through him. Then their hearts were touched with pity for him, and they brought him forth secretly and went with him to al-Ǧîzah [2], and they said to him : "Depart from us (that) we may find rest from thy dishonour". Then he went to Wâdî Habîb [3], and he abode there with a monk, and he taught him the paths of God and made him a monk. When he had abode (there) a few days, certain of those among the monks, who are without understanding, said to him : "The Lord will not accept thy (conversion to) Christianity (Naṣrânîyah) unless thou go to Miṣr [4] and shew thyself publicly, so that thou mayest be known". He hearkened to them and returned to Miṣr [4] in obedience to them. He went to the dwelling-place of his father and was prepared to be put to death for the Name of Christ. When his father saw him in the garment of monks, he cried out and was enraged with him and said to him : "What is this dishonour? Thou didst go and hast returned to me with a hood of wool"—he meant the holy hood (ḳalansuwah) which is the helmet (baiḍat) of salvation. Then he took him and imprisoned him in a dark cellar into which the sweepings of the dust and ashes and dirt of the house were cast, and he shut down the cover over him. He sware unto everyone in the house that none should give him bread or water, and that if anyone gave to him anything of this, he would punish him. He ordered his pages and his female servants to throw upon him all that they swept up in the way of dust and ashes and dirt of the house and the washings of the pots. He (the youth) remained thus for six days, and his weeping mother did not cease from weeping on his account, and she was exceedingly grieved for him, and she used to let down to him bread and water with a rope,

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[1] Cf. *Is.* 40, 31*. — [2] Amélineau, p. 190. — [3] Cf. p. 113, n. 4. — [4] Cairo.

came out and those who went in at the time of the Prayer of Vespers. When the Prayer (of Vespers) was finished and the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) came out, the youth came out in their midst, and they (the brothers) examined him attentively and they recognized him and they followed him to the bank (of the Nile). When they were in a place separated from the people, they took hold of him and they wept and they struck their faces and said to him : "What is this which thou hast done to us, O our brother?". He said to them : "What is there about me that you should not recognize (me)?" One of the two of them said to the other : "This is not a place for discussion, lest Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) should have entered him and we be covered with shame among the people». They kept close to him until they brought him to the house with gentleness. His family renewed the mourning (ğanâzat), when they saw him in this condition. Then his father and his mother spoke to him, and they said to his brothers : "Do not speak to him till we find out about his case, lest we should become disgraced". Then they shut the doors and went in with him to a place apart. When they had ascertained the truth about his case, they said to him : "Thou art not our son". He said to them : "I am Paul (Bûluṣ)", that is to say, the name by which they called him at the time of baptism. His father said to him : "Thou hast dishonoured me, O my son, and thou hast dishonoured my eldership among the judges (ḳuḍâh) and the witnesses. Perhaps, thou hast done this because I did not marry thee. I had already thought to marry thee, when thou shouldst return from the pilgrimage, to the best (woman) in Miṣr [1], and to spend on thy marriage much money". They remained questioning him and saying to him : "Do not dishonour us in the midst of the people, and do not put us to shame in this city". They did not cease (to remain) with him till midnight, and he was saying to them : "I do not know what you are saying". When they did not find in him any way out, they put him into a dark chamber for three days without food (and) without drink, but they did not prevail over him. On account of her great weeping and affliction, his mother did not break her fast likewise. Then they

[1] Cairo.

friend of their father there, they turned to him and asked concerning him (the youth). But he (the friend) wept and informed them that their brother had gone astray in the desert at night, and he said to them : "I halted for a long (time) waiting for him, but he did not come, and I was compelled to journey on [1], and I caught up with the end of the caravan. I journeyed against my will, and the night came between me and him, and I thought that perhaps he might have gone before me at the head of the caravan. When it was morning, I made a tour the [2] whole day through the caravan from its head to its end, and I asked all who were in it concerning him (the youth), but I did not learn any news about him, and I knew (then) that he had become separated from the caravan at that place, and (that) the wild beasts had devoured him". When they (his brothers) heard this from him, they rent their garments and returned to their father and informed him of this. He set up a lamentation (manâḥah) for him and a great mourning (ǧanâzah). When the days of the mourning (ǧanâzah) were accomplished, a youth from among his (the youth's) friends (who) was dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Church of the martyr Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah) [3] in Miṣr [4] saw him (the youth) one day come out from the church and return to it, and there were upon him garments of wool and a girdle of wool. He said : "Verily, people resemble one another, and if Ibn Raǧâ were not already dead, I would have said that he was this (one)". Then he met his father and his brothers and he said to them : "I wished to-day to detain a Christian (Naṣrânî) man at the Church of Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah) [3], (as) I would have said that he was your son. If I had not been informed of his death, I would say it was he, because he resembles him in all his characteristics, even in his gait. I had no doubts about him, except in his garments of wool and the girdle". When they heard this, grief and weeping were renewed in them. Then his brothers desired ardently to see this person (of) whom it was said that he resembled their brother. Then they both arose in the evening and, being disguised in despicable garments, they hid themselves in a corner at the door of the church, so that they might see those who

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[1] *Lit.* the journey compelled me. — [2] *Lit.* my. — [3] Cf. p. 144, n. 3. — [4] Cairo.

(Testaments) until God enlightened his heart and he learned the Mysteries of the Belief and the truth of the Faith, as the Apostle saith : "If a man return to the Lord the covering will be removed from his heart"[1]. He (the youth) recognized the error in which he was[2], and in which he had destroyed his life, and he stablished his foundation on the rock which is Christ, and he said as Paul (Bûluṣ) saith : "What (is it that) shall separate me from the love of Christ? Tribulation or captivity or hunger or fire or prison[3]? and the remainder of the chapter, none of these[4] shall be able to separate me from the love of Christ". When the heart of that youth was strengthened in the Orthodox Faith, he asked the elder (šaikh), the priest, to baptize him. He (the priest) feared lest it might be a blow from Satan (as-Šaiṭân), and he counselled the aforesaid youth to go to Wâdî Habîb[5]. On account of the greatness of his desire (to receive baptism) he asked him (the priest) fervently[6] with many obeisances (*μετάνοια*) and said to him : "Perhaps, I shall not live till I reach there", and he constrained him (to baptize him) through the abundance of his supplication to him * and his weeping, so that he baptized him and named him Paul (Bûluṣ). When he had worn the light of the garment of baptism[7], he asked for despicable clothes to be bought from the market, and he put them on and he asked him (the priest) to pray for him. He went out and no one recognized him on account of the change in his dress and his mien by reason of the abundance of his fasting, his prayer, his contest and his standing up to read the books, the reading of which was like honey unto him.

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As for the pilgrims, they had reached Miṣr[8]; and it was the usual custom, when they approached Miṣr[8] to send him who should announce the news of their arrival. The families of the pilgrims went out (from Cairo) a distance of two days that they might meet them a long way off. When his (the youth's) brothers went out with all the people to meet him, they went around (searching) for him and they asked concerning him, but they did not learn any news of him. When they found the

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[1] 2 *Corinth*. 3, 16*. — [2] *Lit.* what was in him in the way of error. — [3] Cf. *Rom.* 8, 35*. — [4] *Lit.* this. — [5] Cf. p. 113, n. 4. — [6] *Lit.* a great asking. — [7] *i. e.* the white baptismal robe. — [8] Cairo.

do; and bring to me a priest, a minister of God the Exalted, pure, virtuous, intelligent (and) learned that he may teach me the Canons (*κανών*) of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and their belief and the precepts of their Law and stablish me in the Faith, since my heart is already inclined towards this religion". The sacristan agreed (to do) this, and he hid him with him in a concealed place in the church, and he went to an elder (šaikh), a priest, learned, pure and virtuous, and made known to him the state of the affair. He rose up with him, being pleased with him. When they came together, the priest gave him (the youth) an answer to all that he asked him about (the affair in question) and he explained it to him and caused him to understand the truth of the matter concerning it. The youth asked him to bring to him the Gospels and the Books of the Church, the Old and the New (Testaments), and to translate [1] for him the Coptic into the Arabic tongue. He said to him : "I wish to read them and to understand them and to know them, that the truth of the Faith may be stablished in me on strong foundations, for these sufferings and afflictions are not to be borne in vain". The priest brought to him the Gospel and the Books of the Prophets and all the Books of the Old and the New (Testaments) which demonstrate the truth of the Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*) Faith and the Unity of the Lord Christ, One of the Three Persons, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and that God is One in His Godhead, and the reason for His Incarnation and His Life-giving Death and His Resurrection from the dead and His Ascension into Heaven and the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete (*Παράκλητος*) upon the Apostles and the turning back of the people from error to the truth of the Faith. The youth said : "Blessed be he who followed this path, namely, Saul (Šâwûl) who was called Paul (Bûluṣ) who heard the voice of the Lord saying to him : 'Saul (Šâwûl), Saul (Šâwûl), why persecutest thou me?' [2]. After which He elected him from out of his error. In like manner I ask Him to guide me and to vouchsafe to me election, that I may manifest His Name among the nations". The end of this speech will come at its place in this biography. He remained (many) days searching the Books of the Old and the New

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[1] *Lit.* interpret. — [2] *Acts* 9, 4*.

that the reason [1] for thy entry into his church might be manifest". The youth said to him : "Who is the Patron Saint [2] of this church?" He said to him : "He is Saint Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah) the venerable". He (the youth) said : "Is Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah) a prophet?" The sacristan said to him : "No, * but he is the martyr, the venerable and the strong, (one) because he renounced the glory of this world and sought (that of) the next world, and he died for the Name of Christ on account of his belief in Him and his manifesting His Name before the unbelieving kings. He received from them much torture for the sake of the Name of Christ, and he was afflicted with (all) kinds of tortures and (all) sorts of afflictions till God took him unto Himself and received him into His everlasting and Heavenly Kingdom. This church and others beside it were built in his name in many places, in order that God—praised be He—might be glorified in it. His intercession is acceptable [3] with God in interceding for the people and he intercedes for them and God manifests miracles through him and through his intercession". The youth said to him : "What [4] is his description and (what is) his portrait (like)?" He (the sacristan) said to him : "He resembles thee and is about thy age". Then he (the sacristan) took him and went with him to the place of his venerable picture. When he (the youth) saw it, he said : "In truth, this is the portrait of him who appeared to me, whom I saw in the desert, and (who) carried me on the back of this horse of his hither, and this golden girdle which I saw about his waist is the same shape as it. Now I will make known to thee that I am a Muslim man from among the inhabitants of this city and I agree on account of this miracle to become a Christian (Naṣrânî)". He informed the sacristan of all that had happened to him and he said to him : "I am the son of Raǧâ, the witness, and I cannot shew myself, lest I should be burned with fire and the church should be burned on account of me; but I desire thee to do me a favour, and thou shalt receive a reward from the Lord Christ, (it is that) thou shouldst hide me in some place so that no one shall see me until I have arranged what I shall

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[1] *Lit.* what was on thee. — [2] *Lit.* possessor. — [3] *Lit.* He has an acceptable intercession. — [4] *Lit.* How.

from my companions". Then he said to him : "Mount the horse behind me". When he had mounted, the horse flew with him through the air. He did not know whether he was in the sky or on the earth, so that he swiftly arrived in the Church of the martyr Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah)[1] in Miṣr[2]. The door opened to him by itself without that anyone opened it, and he entered with him, still mounted upon the horse, as far as the door of the sanctuary (*ἱερατεῖον*). There he made him dismount, and he did not see him again. He remained astonished, as if he were in a dream, on account of the miracle which he had witnessed. Then he thought within himself and said : "(What) is this that has befallen me? Can this be a church of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ)?" He turned round and saw the lamps (*κανδήλη*) burning and the pictures, and said : "Was I not a moment (ago) in the desert?" He stood inside the sanctuary (*ἱερατεῖον*) till it became morning. Then the sacristan (ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧ) of the church entered, and he thought that he (the youth) was a thief, and he wished to cry out. He (the youth) motioned to him with his hand to keep silent and to come up to him. When he drew nigh to him, the youth said to him : "What is this place?" He said to him : "The Church of Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah)[1] in Miṣr"[2]. He (the youth) said to him : "Is this the city of Miṣr?"[2]. He said to him : "Yes, but lo, I see thee as if thy mind were troubled. Make known to me thy history and what is thy case". By that time the youth had grown calm and he said to him : "How should my mind not go astray, (seeing) that I was this night in such and such a place, and I do not know how I arrived here. God it is Who knows this". When the sacristan (ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧ) heard mention of the place in which he (the youth) had been, he said to him : "Did I not say to thee that thy mind was troubled (and) distracted, (and that) thou dost not know what thou sayest? Between thee and the place which thou hast mentioned there is a distance of one month and twelve days' (journey) and according to my opinion thou art nothing but a thief, and that it is the power of the martyr which has caused thee to bring forward this vain excuse, in order

[1] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 75-154.

[2] Cairo.

Thereupon they comforted him and said to him : "Do not stablish in thy heart anything of the speech of that erring one". But he did not forget what was in his heart. After those days, the aforesaid youth saw a number of the inhabitants of Miṣr [1] who had determined (to go) to the Hedjaz (al-Ḥiǧâz) to perform the pilgrimage. He said to his father : "I desire to perform the pilgrimage with the people". His father rejoiced at this and gave to him one hundred dînârs and entrusted [2] him to a friend of his who was journeying to Mecca (Makkah), and he said to him : "This is my son whom I entrust [3] to thee to guard him as thy son until thou bring him back with thee, and he shall be in thy company by the will of God". He (the father) bought for him all that was necessary for him. While they were journeying the youth had [4] a dream one night, and it was as if an elder (šaikh), a monk, exceedingly luminous stood by him and said to him : "Follow me, thou shalt profit thy soul". When he awoke, he related the dream to the friend of his father who was with him. He said to him : "O my son, may God assist thee. Verily, the monk is Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) who desires to tempt thee. Do not lend [5] thy thought to him". Then he (the monk) appeared to him the next night and said to him as he had said on the first night without addition or reduction. On the third night also he (the monk) spoke in the same manner. When they had accomplished their pilgrimage they returned, and they journeyed six or seven days. While they were returning, they dismounted from their camels at night to pass water. Then the man (who was) the friend of his (the youth's) father mounted his camel, but he (the youth) tarried and became separated from him (his friend) and saw no one. Then he (the youth) started to run till he became tired, but he could not rejoin them (the company). He remained alone astray in the desert and he sat down being afraid of the beasts of the desert, lest they should devour him. Behold, a youth mounted on a horse, in a handsome garment and girded with a girdle of gold, stood before him. When he saw him, he said to him : "Who art thou and how is it that thou art gone astray alone in this desert?" The youth said to him : "I dismounted from my camel to pass water, and I became separated

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[1] Egypt. — [2] *Lit.* gave. — [3] *Lit.* give. — [4] *Lit.* saw. — [5] *Lit.* make.

and the Holy Spirit. The Son is not foreign to God the Father, Who is His Word and likewise His Spirit. The mystery of our religion is wonderful, but it is hidden from you, because your minds (cannot) endure it. Now, O man [1], thy heart is darkened and the light of faith has not illuminated it, but I see that after a little while the light will draw nigh to thee, and thy heart will be illuminated through the light of Christ, and that thou shalt contend for the sake of Him for Whose sake I am contending, and for the sake of Whose Name I give my soul and my body unto suffering and death, and that thou also shalt receive these sufferings which I endure [2]". When the youth heard his words, he was angered with him and said : "Hearken to what this erring impious one says. Thinkest thou that I shall be an erring impious one as thou?" Then he took off his shoe from his foot and buffeted him with it on his mouth and his face and his head, and he caused him to suffer much through the buffeting. He said to him : "It [3] shall never be that I shall be as thou, O vile one". He (the man) said : "Thou wilt remember my words [4] and wilt know the truth of what I am saying [5]". Then they struck off his head [6] and cast upon him fire-wood (ḥaṭab) and many reeds (bûṣ), so that it (the heap) became like a lofty castle, and they set fire to it. * When the people saw the hugeness of that fire which burned, they thought that his body would become ashes. The fire remained over him for three days, and the soldiers were guarding him day and night, and after that they took off from him the burning fire and they found his body like unto gold, and that nothing of it was burnt. Then they informed al-Muʿizz of this and he commanded him (the man) to be buried.

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Ibn Raǧâ, the witness, whom we have mentioned, went to his house and spent that night (there), being sad at heart on account of what the martyr of Christ had said to him. He did not eat and he did not drink that night, but he was sitting astonished. Then his father and his brothers came together to him and they said to him : "What is it that has befallen thee?" He informed them of what the martyr had said.

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[1] *Lit.* thou, this one. — [2] *Lit.* in which I am. — [3] *Lit.* This. — [4] *Lit.* speech. — [5] *Lit.* my saying. — [6] *Lit.* neck.

as Ibn Raǧâ [1]. The youth had learned the Law (νόμος) of the Muslims and observed the Coran (Ḳurân). He was wandering on a certain day along the bank of the river [2] (at) the place where fire-wood (ḥaṭab) and reeds (bûṣ) are sold, (which) is known as Birkit Ramîs [3] at Miṣr [4], and he found (there) a man who was a Muslim (who) had become a Christian. The soldiers of the king were round about him, holding him, and they had already prepared for him at Birkit Ramîs [3] fire-wood (ḥaṭab) and reeds (bûṣ) in order to burn him. A great multitude of people had gathered together unto him, and were crowded together to see him. This youth whose father (was) Ibn Raǧâ, was very zealous in his religion, even as was Paul (Bûluṣ) at that time, when he was called to from heaven, and it was said to him : "Saul (Šâwûl), Saul (Šâwûl), why persecutest thou me?" [5] That One Who spake to him (Saul) was He Who called this youth to be a witness to that martyr. When he was brought, as (was) Paul (Bûluṣ), he went up to that martyr who was in the midst of the soldiers, and he said to him : "O man, what is it that has driven thee to lose thy soul on account of a religion in which thou art unfaithful to God the Exalted, and dost associate with Him another, and wilt be precipitated into this fire in (this) world and in the next world (into) the fire of Gehenna (Ǧahannam), because thou makest God the third of three, whereas He is one and nothing resembles Him, and thou sayest that God has a son. Now hearken to me and put away from thee this impiety and return to thy religion, and I will make thee as a brother unto me, and everyone shall honour thee". He (the man) said to him : "Do not attribute to me impiety and associating with God the Exalted (other gods). How (can) we make Him three, while we, the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), adore one God Who is the Father and the Son

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[1] A marginal note in red, complete in A, reads : "From here is the story of al-Wâḍiḥ ibn Abû Raǧâ, the martyr, a native of Miṣr (Cairo)".

[2] *Lit.* sea, *i. e.* the Nile.

[3] Cf. P. Casanova, *Essai de reconstruction topographique de la ville d'Al-Fousṭâṭ ou Miṣr*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, t. XXXV (1919), p. 178.

[4] Cairo.

[5] *Acts*, 9, 4*.

days of his son who ruled after him, namely, Nazâr Abî 'l-Manṣûr al-'Azîz bi'llah.

There was in the days of this king a body of Christian (an-Naṣârah) scribes who were chiefs, amongst whom was a community known as Banî al-Muṭî'. They came to an agreement with the father, the patriarch, that he should not consecrate a bishop without (asking) their opinion, because he used to take money and consecrate him who was not worthy.

There was at Minûf al-'Alyâ [1] a bishop whose name was Macarius (Maḳârah) and he was the secretary of the Synod (σύνοδος), and his brother was bishop of Ṭânah [2] whose name was Menas (Mînâ) (who) was living at Damrû [3]. The patriarch was dwelling at Maḥallat Dânyâl [4]. Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ), the bishop, went to his rest in those days. His brother, Abba Macarius (Anbâ Maḳârah), bishop of Minûf [5], said to the patriarch, Abba Philotheus (Anbâ Fîlâtâwus) : "If thou wilt hearken to me, I will give thee a good counsel". He said to him : "What is it?" He said : "This see which belonged to my brother is a good see and it is the place of thy son, and my brother had a good dwelling-place in it at Damrû [3]. Take now one of thy brethren, the monks, who are in thy cell (κελλίον), and consecrate him bishop of it and dwell thou in his dwelling-place at Damrû [3], and the see will be according to thy wishes" [6]. He approved of his (Macarius') idea [6], and he took his father, the monk, the elder (šaikh), who was (attached) to him at the patriarchate, named John (Yûḥannâ) and made him his bishop. The news (of this) reached the archons (ἄρχων) at Miṣr [7] and they complained of him to the wazîr and he seized him (the patriarch) and cast him into prison until he received from him three thousand dînârs for the Treasury.

There happened in his days a marvellous affair which we ought not to neglect to mention. It is (about) a youth of the righteous Muslim witnesses in Miṣr [7] who attend the Council of the Ḳâdî of judgments in it (Cairo), and (about) his father a man (who was also) a witness, known

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[1] Amélineau, p. 251. — [2] Amélineau, p. 259. — [3] Amélineau, p. 505. — [4] Cf. p. 134, n. 9. — [5] Amélineau, p. 505. — [6] *Lit.* opinion. — [7] Cairo.

behalf, since thou didst distribute my money among those in need, and didst not leave it for the king".

When Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) went to his rest, after he had remained for three years and a half (on the Throne), nothing of the ninety thousand dînârs was left to him nor a single dirham of the great wealth which he himself had possessed, but he had spent all of this on (re)building his churches and on alms and on what was pleasing to God—praised be He! He became as father Abraham (Ibrahîm) the first (patriarch) in his deeds which were pleasing (to God), and he was numbered with the righteous in the Kingdom of God.

May the Lord have mercy upon us through his prayer and through the prayer of all who have pleased Him by their deeds. Glory be to God for ever and ever eternally!

Philotheus (Fîlâtâwus) the patriarch, and he is the sixty-third of (their) number.

The Throne of Alexandria remained vacant for six months without a patriarch. A Synod (σύνοδος) assembled at Miṣr[1], as was the custom, and they mentioned a man, a monk, called John (Yûḥannâ), in the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr)[2], in the Cell (ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲓ) known as Dhakr Kafrî[3]. Then they sent for him and caused him to be brought to Miṣr[1], and with him there was a disciple who accompanied him, whose name was Philotheus (Fîlâtâwus). When John (Yûḥannâ) arrived, they saw that he was an exceedingly old man, already stricken in years, and that he was not fit for this charge, but they saw his son Philotheus (Fîlâtâwus), and lo, he was perfect in stature, (and) they made him patriarch. He (Philotheus) decided * to take money for the consecration of bishops. There was great peace for the churches in the days of the king al-Muʿizz until he died, and likewise (during) the

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[1] Cairo.
[2] Cf. p. 121, n. 2.
[3] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 340 and 362.

the Karmaṭî [1] reached Miṣr [2], al-Muʿizz went out to fight against him and routed him and slew him.

Cosmas (Kuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ) wrote to al-Muʿizz (and) informed him of what had occur ed with the Karmaṭî [1] and how he had gone to meet him so that he might be saved from him, and that he had saved the two hundred thousand dînârs. Al-Muʿizz took vengeance on the wazîr ibn Killis and seized him and slew him [3], and he sent to summon Cosmas (Kuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ) the pious, virtuous one. He arrived and the money with him. He (al-Muiʿzz) put on him a robe of honour and received him with hospitality after he had released all his money and people and had returned to them all their possessions which had been taken away.

Cosmas (Kuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ) had acquired before his journey to Palestine (Filisṭîn) ninety thousand dînârs. When he wished to journey, he delivered it (the money) to Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), the patriarch, and said to him : "If thou hearest that I have died, then spend it for the salvation of my soul on the churches, the hidden [4], the destitute and the captives. If I return, then I shall take my money". When he (Cosmas) had returned to Miṣr [5] and his case had been settled with al-Muʿizz, he asked the patriarch for the ninety thousand dînârs. He (Abraham) said to him : "I heard of what befell thee in Syria (aš-Šâm) and I thought that thou wouldst not return hither on account of what had happened to thy people, and I feared that reports of the money would reach al-Muʿizz and that he would take it and that nothing of it would remain for thee and that (it would be) of no advantage (to thee) in the next world, and I spent it on what thou didst command me". He (Cosmas) did not say to him a word (about this), or on what didst thou spend my money, but he said to him : "O my father, thou didst well for me and didst perform a good action and mercy on my

[1] Cf. p. 148, n. 1.

[2] Cairo.

[3] *N. B.* Ibn Killis died in A. D. 981 in the reign of al-ʿAzîz, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[4] Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1.

[5] Egypt.

When Jacob (Ya'ḳûb) ibn Killis the wazîr saw the access (which) Abû 'l-Yumn had to al-Mu'izz, he envied him and feared that he (al-Mu'izz) would make him wazîr in his stead. He counselled al-Mu'izz and said to him : "It is good to send Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ) to the districts of Palestine (Filisṭîn) to direct them, since he is a trustworthy man". His object was to remove him from al-Mu'izz. Then he (al-Mu'izz) sent him to Palestine (Filisṭîn). When he arrived there and took charge of it, he exacted from it and from its districts two hundred thousand dînârs.

Then a heretic (kharigî) from the lands of the East arose, known as the Ḳarmaṭî [1]. He took possession of all the lands of Syria (aš-Šâm) till he reached the districts of Palestine (Filisṭîn). When news of him reached Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ), he took the money which he had obtained and went with it to a monastery on the top of Mount Tabor (Tâbûr) [2] and he delivered it to the Superior of the monastery and placed it as a deposit with him in order that he might guard it, and he returned to his work. When the Ḳarmaṭî [1] reached him, he said to him : "Fear not, for no evil shall happen to thee from me, and I will make thee to be a friend to me as thou wast to al-Mu'izz", and he made a pact with him thereon. Then those who held rank wrote to al-Mu'izz about this, that Abû 'l-Yumn Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ) had come to an agreement with the Ḳarmaṭî [1] and had made peace with him. When the wazîr was informed of this, he found the means to remember him with evil, and he said to al-Mu'izz : "This is Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ) of whom thou sayest that he is trustworthy and faithful. He has made peace with thine enemy and has delivered to him the two hundred thousand dînârs which he exacted from thy lands, in order that he might strengthen him thereby against thee". Al-Mu'izz became wrathful and sent and seized all his (Cosmas') people and plundered their possessions and cast them into prison. When

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[1] On the Ḳarmaṭî (Carmathians) cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The person in question was Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, surnamed al-A'sam, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 113.

[2] For the monastery on Mount Tabor, cf. *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, p. 53 *b*.

under the rule of Ǧawhar, and Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) (came) after him. Whenever al-Muʿizz wished to do anything according to his custom in the West, Ǧawhar prevented him with gentleness and diplomacy, and said that the inhabitants of Miṣr [1] are a people in whom there is cunning and sagacity, and that nothing is hidden from them, and it is as if they have knowledge of that which is invisible. He (al-Muʿizz) said to him one day : "O Ǧawhar, if what has been said about the sagacity of the Cairenes (al-Maṣriyîn) is correct, then I wish to test them". Then he commanded them to take a large roll of paper similar to (that of) a decree (siǧill), and that it should be rolled up without being written upon and sealed. When it was brought, he delivered it to the scribe and he inscribed upon it the name of the king al-Muʿizz, and he (al-Muʿizz) commanded that a trumpet should be sounded before him (the bearer) and that a public crier should proclaim among the people that they should come to hear the decree (siǧill) of the king, and he commanded that spies should walk behind him (the public crier) and listen to what the inhabitants of Miṣr [1] said. This was done, and they heard some of the people say : "Let us go to hear the decree (siǧill) of the king", but some of them said : "Do not trouble yourselves. There is nothing in it; it is blank". * Then they (the spies) returned and informed him (al-Muʿizz), and he marvelled at this exceedingly. *fol. 142 v°

At the beginning of the pontificate [2] of Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) the patriarch, the wazîr in Miṣr [3] was the aforesaid Abû 'l-Yumn Cosmas (Ḳuzmâ) ibn Menas (Mînâ). He was a pious man and a virgin. He had never married, and it had not been heard concerning him that he had (known) the follies of youth. He acted well towards all men and he was praised by everyone. He was accorded favour and love by al-Muʿizz on account of his good manner of life and intention(s) and of the strength of his faith. He (al-Muʿizz) used to accept his words [4] and his counsel, and he appointed him mutawallî for collecting the tax on the wealth of Miṣr [3]. He continued thus until Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) became patriarch.

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[1] Cairo. — [2] *Lit.* consecration. — [3] Egypt. — [4] *Lit.* speech.

Alexandria which had become weakened, and he spent on this a great (deal) of money, and was not able to pay to the Alexandrians the thousand dînârs which had been agreed upon for them for the expenses of their churches, and after many demands it was agreed upon that he should give to them each year five hundred dînârs.

The duration of the occupation by this patriarch, Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), of the Throne was three years and six months, and he went to his rest with his saintly fathers.

It is said that one [1] of the archons (ἄρχων), known as Abî'-s-Surûr al-Kabîr, who had influence in the State, possessed many concubines. He (Abraham) commanded him to send them away, but he did not (do so). Then he excommunicated him and forbade him the Eucharist (Ḳurbân). He acted craftily in that he gave to him (Abraham) a drink to drink [2] and killed him. He went to the Lord in peace, and the people wept over him.

There was a prophecy concerning his advancement (to the patriarchate). It (happened) that when he was a layman, he went to the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) [3] in Wâdî Habîb [4] to pray there. He went to the Caves [5] to receive the blessings from the anchorites. He met one of them, and with him there were two of his companions. That saintly anchorite blessed him and seized him by his hand and took him aside and said : "O my brother, lo, I see a great rock suspended above thee and it is descending upon thee". He (Abraham) did not understand the meaning of his saying that day, and that he (the anchorite) signified to him thereby the greatness of the majesty of the patriarchate which he merited from God.

When the kingdom of Miṣr [6] fell to al-Mu'izz, as we have said above, Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ) the patriarch lived [7] during some of his days

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(1) *Lit.* a man.

(2) *i. e.* poisoned him.

(3) Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 31-129.

(4) Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

(5) Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 5-6.

(6) Egypt.

(7) *Lit.* was.

of Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah)[1], the sellers who were there and the dregs of the people assembled and said : "If we are all slain with one sword, we shall not allow anyone to place (one) stone upon (one) stone in this church". Then the patriarch returned to the king al-Muʿizz with the news. He (al-Muʿizz) became wrathful at this, and he rode at once with all his troops till he came to the place, and he halted and commanded the foundations to be dug. They were promptly dug and a large number of masons were assembled for it (the rebuilding) and stones were carried to it (the site) from every place by the order of the king al-Muʿizz, and they (began to) build them (the foundations) at once. No one dared to say a word except an elder (šaikh) who used (to lead) in the prayers for those sellers in the mosque which was there. He it was who used to assemble the congregation and presided over them. He threw himself into the foundations and said : "I desire to die to-day for the Name of God and not to let anyone build this church". When the king al-Muʿizz was informed of this, he commanded that stones should be thrown upon him and that they should build over him. When lime and stones were thrown upon him, he wished to stand up, but the assistants did not allow him (to do so), since al-Muʿizz had commanded that he should be buried in the foundations into which he had thrown himself. When the patriarch saw this, he dismounted from his beast and threw himself before[2] al-Muʿizz and besought him on behalf of him (the elder) until he (al-Muʿizz) commanded that he should be got up from the foundations. It was with difficulty that he managed to escape from them (the foundations) safe, after he had almost died.

The king al-Muʿizz returned to his palace, and no one dared after that to say a single word till the rebuilding of the church had been completed, and likewise (that of) the Church al-Muʿallaḳah[3] at Ḳaṣr aš-Šam[4] and he (the patriarch) (re)built all the churches which were in need of restoration. No one opposed him (the patriarch) in anything of this (affair). He (re)built likewise many places in the churches at

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[1] Cf. p. 144, n. 3. — [2] *Lit.* between the hands of. — [3] Cf. p. 144, n. 5. — [4] Cf. p. 108, n. 3.

the mountain came down to its base. The king al-Muʿizz feared greatly [1], and the king and the Muslims cried out : "God is great. There is no God besides Thee!" Then the king al-Muʿizz said to the patriarch after the third time : "Enough, O patriarch, I have recognized, indeed, the correctness of thy faith". When the people had become calm, the patriarch turned to look for the saintly man, but he did not find him [2].

Then the king said to the patriarch Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrâham) : "Desire of me something (and) I will do it for thee". He (Abraham) said to him : "I desire nought, save that God may strengthen thy State and give thee victory over thine enemies". He (al-Muʿizz) said to him : "Desire (of me something), O patriarch". He repeated to him the speech three times. Then the king al-Muʿizz said to him : "It is necessary that thou desire of me something". The patriarch said to him : "If it be necessary, then I will ask our lord to command, if it be possible, to be built a church of Abba Mercurius (Abû Markûrah) [3] at Miṣr [4]"; since it happened, when they had demolished it, that they did not allow them (the Christians) to restore it, and it has been turned into a store house (šûnah) for sugar-cane (ḳaṣab); and likewise the Muʿallaḳah [5] in Miṣr [4] in Ḳaṣr aš-Šamʿ [6], since a great part of its walls had fallen down and part of them was in a state of decay. He (Abraham) also asked permission to restore it (the Muʿallaḳah). He (al-Muʿizz) ordered at once that a decree (siǧill) should be written for him giving him the power (to do) this, and he gave to him from the Treasury what he would have to spend on the restoration. * He (Abraham) took the decree (siǧill), but he returned the money and said to the king al-Muʿizz : "May the Lord strengthen thy kingdom, but the Treasury has more right to this money". When the decree (siǧill) was read at the Church

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(1) *Lit.* a great fearing.

(2) An account of this miracle is given in B. T. A. Evetts' *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, pp. 124-127.

(3) Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 75-154.

(4) Cairo.

(5) Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 206-235.

(6) Cf. p. 108, n. 3.

the[1] day I work in the tannery and at night[2] I stand praying. This is the state of my case, and I ask thee, O my father, not to make it known to anyone, for I have not the power to endure the praise of men, but that which I shall say to thee, do (it). Go out with thy priests and all thy people to the mountain concerning which the king told thee, (having) with you gospels, crosses, censers and large candles. Let the king stand with his soldiers and his troops on one side, and thou and thy people, on one side, and I, behind thee, will stand in the midst of the people, so that no one may recognize me. Then read thou and thy priests and cry aloud, saying : 'O Lord, have mercy' for a long time. Then command them to be silent and (to keep) quiet, and thou shalt prostrate thyself and all who are with thee shall prostrate themselves, and I will prostrate myself with you, and without that anyone recognizes me. Do thus three times, and every time that thou shalt prostrate thyself and stand up (again) thou shalt make (the sign of) the cross over the mountain, and thou shalt see the glory of God". When he (the man) had said this word, the heart of the patriarch was reassured by what he heard from him. Then he (Abraham) rose up and all the people with him, and they went up to the king and said to him : "Go out to the mountain". He (al-Muʿizz) commanded all his army and those who were attached to him and the notables of his State to go out, and that trumpets should be sounded. The king went out and his wazîr with him, and he ordered that disbelieving Moses (Mûsâ) to go out. The father, the patriarch, did as that Saint had said to him. The king al-Muʿizz and his companions stood on one side and all the Christians (Naṣârâ) and the patriarch, on the other side, and the man stood behind the patriarch, and there was none among the assembly who recognized him, except the patriarch alone, and they cried out 'O Lord, have mercy' many times. Then he (Abraham) commanded them to be silent and he prostrated himself upon the ground and all (who were) with him prostrated themselves three times, and every time that he lifted up his face and made (the sign of) the cross, the mountain was lifted up from the ground. When they prostrated themselves,

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[1] *Lit.* my day. — [2] *Lit.* my night.

this miracle shall be manifested". The patriarch awoke at once and he was afraid. It was still dark (ghalas), and he arose in haste and did not let anyone know of him till he reached the door and found it closed. He doubted in his heart and said : "I believe that Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) has played a trick upon me". He called the door-keeper, and he opened (the door) for him. The first who entered by the door was the man about whom he was told [1]. He seized him and said to him* with an obeisance (μετάνοια) for the Lord's sake : "Have pity upon this people". Then he informed him of the reason for their meeting. The man said to him : "Forgive me, for I am a sinner, and I have not reached this degree" [2]. Thereupon, the patriarch informed him of what the Pure Mistress had told him, when she appeared to him. Then he said to him : "What is thy business?" He (the man) wished to hide from him his case. He (Abraham) solemnly charged him [3] and bound him under (pain of) anathema not to hide from him anything of his case. Then he said to him : "O my father, I will inform thee of my case. I am a man, a tanner, and this eye which thou seest, I plucked it out on account of the commandment of the Lord, when I beheld what was not mine with lust [4], and saw that I was going to Hell (al-Ǧaḥîm) on account of it. I considered and said : 'It is better for me to go into life with one eye, as the Lord Christ saith : It is better (etc.), than that I should go to Hell (al-Ǧaḥîm) with two eyes' [5]. I am (living) in this place (as) a hired worker to a man (who is) a tanner. I do not have over from what (I receive) from my work every day (anything) except a bread to eat, and the remainder is for the destitute hidden [6] of the brethren, women and men. This water I give them to drink every day before I go to my work. I take it to the poor people among them who have not the money to buy it from the water-carrier. All

*fol. 141 v°

(1) *Lit.* it was told to him.
(2) *Lit.* end.
(3) *Lit.* placed the cross on him.
(4) *Lit.* a look of lust.
(5) Cf. *Matt.* 18, 9.
(6) Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1.

Some of them (the monks) broke their fast once every night [1] with bread and salt and a little water. Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm), the patriarch, did not cease to stand weeping before [2] God on account of it during those days and nights [3], until there did not remain in him any movement.

This blessed gathering took place [4] in the Church of the Mistress in Kaṣr aš-Šamʿ [5] known as the Muʿallaḳah [6]. When it was the morning (sabaḥ) of the third day, the saintly patriarch fell to the ground from grief of heart [7] and from his fasting and his weariness, and he slept for a while [8]. He saw the Lady, the Pure Mistress, Mary (Martmaryam) and she said to him with a joyful face : "What is it that has befallen thee?" He said to her : "Dost thou not know [9], O my Lady, that the king of this land has said to me : 'If thou dost not shew to me a miracle this day in the mountain, I shall kill all the inhabitants of the Christian Religion in the land of Miṣr [10], and I shall destroy them from out of my kingdom with the sword'". The Mistress said to him : "Fear not, for I will not overlook the tears which thou hast shed in this church of mine. Rise now, and descend from here and go out by the door of the Darb al-Ḥadîd which leads to the Great Market [11]. As thou goest out thou wilt find a man (carrying) on his shoulder a jar full of water —his mark is that he is one-eyed —seize him, for he it is at whose hands

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[1] *Lit.* from night to night.
[2] *Lit.* between the hands of.
[3] *Lit.* their night.
[4] *Lit.* was.
[5] Cf. p. 108, nn. 2 and 3.
[6] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.,* vol. I, pp. 206 sqq.
[7] *Lit.* his heart.
[8] *Lit.* slept a little sleep.
[9] *Lit.* see.
[10] Egypt.
[11] For the Iron Gate and the Great Market, cf. A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt,* Oxford, 1902, pp. 240-242, and P. Casanova, *Description historique et topographique de l'Égypte,* in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire,* t. III (1906), p. 105.

the king al-Muʿizz, but the Lord Christ protects His elect and His servants.

It happened after some days that he found a way (to have) an audience to say to al-Muʿizz : "It is written in the Gospel of the Christians (Naṣârâ) : 'If one hath faith as a grain of mustard-seed, and he saith to the mountain : Be thou removed and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done [1].' Let the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful see his way [2] to ask them to prove the truth of this saying, so that he may know that they are frauds and are liars. If they do not do (this), it is requisite that there should be done to them what they deserve on account of their lie". He (al-Muʿizz) approved of this word. The king al-Muʿizz sent to summon Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) and said to him : "What sayest thou concerning this word? Is it in your Gospel or not?" The patriarch said : "Yea. It is in it". He (al-Muʿizz) said to him : "Lo, ye Christians (Naṣârâ) are thousands and tens of thousands in this land, and I desire to be brought to me one of them that this miracle may be manifested at his hands; and thou, O chief of them, it is requisite that this deed should be (done) by thee, otherwise, I shall destroy you with the sword". Then the patriarch was astounded, and great fear came upon him and he did not know what to answer to him (al-Muʿizz), but God the Exalted inspired him to say to him : "Grant me a delay of three days, so that I may seek and beseech the Lord—His name be magnified—to render the heart of the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful favourable to his slaves". He granted to him the delay.

He (Abraham) returned to his dwelling-place in Miṣr [3] and he caused to be brought (to him) the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) of Miṣr [3] and all the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people, and weeping he made known to them the matter. There were in Miṣr [3] a number of monks of Wâdî Habîb [4], and he (Abraham) imposed upon them all a penance (κανών) that none of them should go to his dwelling-place for three days, but that they should assemble to continue in prayer in the church night and day. They did this for the three days and nights [5]. As to the patriarch, he did not break his fast during them (the three days) at all.

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[1] Cf. *Matt.* 17, 20* and *Mk.* 11, 23*. — [2] *Lit.* opinion. — [3] Cairo. — [4] Cf. p. 109, n. 3. — [5] *Lit.* their nights.

(Yahûdî) and the wazîr Ibn Killis were present, and they sat for a long time silent. Then the king al-Muʿizz said to them : "Speak concerning that for which ye are assembled". Then he said : "Speak, O patriarch, and tell thy deputy to say what he has (to say)". The patriarch said to the bishop : "Speak, O my son, and God will assist thee". The bishop said to the king : "It is not lawful to converse with a man (who is) a Jew (Yahûdî) in the presence of the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful". The Jew (Yahûdî) said to him : "Thou dost slander me and sayest in the presence of the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful and his wazîr that I am ignorant". The bishop Abba Severus (Anbâ Sawîrus) said to him : "If the truth be made manifest to the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful, will there not be anger thereat?" The king al-Muʿizz said : "It is not allowed that anyone should become angry in the disputation, but it is requisite for those who dispute that everyone of them should say what he has (to say) and to set forth his argument as he wishes". The bishop said : "It is not I (who) bear witness against thee, O Jew (Yahûdî), * with regard to ignorance, but a great and illustrious prophet from God (who) has witnessed against thee with regard to this". The Jew (Yahûdî) said to him : "Who is the prophet?" He (Severus) said to him : "He is Isaiah (Išaʿyâ) who saith in the beginning of his book concerning God : 'The ox hath known its owner, and the ass hath known the manger of its master, but Israel (Isrâyîl) hath not known Me'" [1]. The king al-Muʿizz said to Moses (Mûsâ) : "Is not this correct?" He said : "Yea. This is what is written". Then the bishop said : "Has not God said, indeed, that the beasts are more intelligent than you. It is not lawful for me to converse in the council of the Commander (Amîr) of the Faithful — may his might endure— with him (the Jew), (for) the beasts are more rational than he, and God, indeed, has attributed to him ignorance". The king al-Muʿizz marvelled at this and commanded them to depart.

*fol. 141 r°

Enmity became great [2] between the two parties. The wrath of the wazîr waxed strong and he began to seek for a pitfall for the patriarch, because he had confounded the Jews (al-Yahûd) in the presence [3] of

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[1] *Is.* 1, 3. — [2] *Lit.* strong. — [3] *Lit.* between the hands.

the bishops, that he may dispute with the Jew (Yahûdî), do (so)". They arranged between themselves a certain day on which their meeting should be, and there was present among all the bishops a saintly, virtuous bishop of al-Ašmûnain [1], called Severus (Sawîrus) and known as Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [2]. He had been a scribe and then he became bishop, and the Lord had bestowed upon him grace and power in the Arabic tongue, so that he wrote many books and mîmars and controversies. He who read his books recognised his excellence and the soundness of his knowledge. He (Severus) disputed many times with the kâdîs (al-ḳuḍâh) of the Muslim elders (šuyûkh) by the order of the king al-Muʿizz, and he overcame them through the power of God and His grace.

It happened that he (Severus) was sitting with the Supreme Ḳâḍî (al-ḳâḍî al-ḳuḍâh), (and) lo, a dog passed by them. It was a Friday and there were a number of witnesses there. The Supreme Ḳâḍî (al-ḳâḍî al-ḳuḍâh) said to him : "What sayest thou, O Severus (Sawîrus), concerning this dog? Is it Christian (Naṣrânî) or Muslim?" He said : "Ask it, and it will answer thee itself". The Ḳâḍî said to him : "Does a dog speak? We wish thee to tell us". He (Severus) said : "Yea. It is necessary for us to test this dog. It (happens) that to-day is Friday on which the Christians (Naṣârâ) fast and do not eat meat, and when they break (their) fast in the evening, they drink nabîdh [3], but the Muslims do not fast on it (Friday) and do not drink nabîdh [3] on it, but eat meat on it. Put before it (the dog) meat and nabîdh [3], and if it eats the meat, it will be Muslim, and if it does not eat it, but drinks the nabîdh [3], then it will be Christian (Naṣrânî)". When they heard his words [4], they marvelled at his wisdom and at the strength of his answer, and they departed from him.

The patriarch Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) took this bishop on the day on which his attendance in the presence of the king al-Muʿizz had been fixed, and he went with him to the palace. Moses (Mûsâ) the Jew

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[1] Améliheau, p. 167.

[2] A famous Coptic theologian.

[3] Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 7, n. 4.

[4] *Lit.* speech.

who did it. They all of them obeyed him except one high archon (ἄρχων) from among the chiefs (Aṣḥâb) of the Diwâns (ad-Dawâwîn), who had concubines. He did not send them away, and he disobeyed the patriarch. The father Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) the patriarch made a number of obeisances (μετάνοια) to him, but he did not obey him and continued in his evil deed, * as the viper which does not hearken to the voice of the charmer, and (as one who does not take) the medicine (which) the physician prepares. Then the patriarch rode and went to his house that he might speak with him, and he said within himself : "Perhaps, if I go to him he will have respect before me". When they informed him (the archon) that the patriarch was coming to him, he shut the door of his house. When the patriarch reached the door, he stood and knocked at it for two hours, but no one answered him a word. Then he excommunicated him (the archon) and shook off (the dust from) his feet on the threshold which was of flint-stone, and it was divided in twain, and this miracle was manifested to the people, and all those who were in Miṣr[1] feared the patriarch. After a few days that archon (ἄρχων) perished with all that he possessed.

*fol. 140 v°

The wazîr of the king al-Muʿizz was a Jewish (Yahûdî) man whose name was Bû Jacob (Yaʿḳûb) ibn Killis[2], and he came with him (al-Muʿizz) from the West and had embraced Al-Islâm at his hands. The wazîr had a Jewish (Yahûdî) friend whose name was Moses (Mûsâ). He was accorded great fortune by al-Muʿizz on account of his friendship for his wazîr. When he saw the love of the king for the patriarch and the access (which he had) to him (al-Muʿizz), he envied him and took counsel against him. He said to Al-Muʿizz : "I desire that thou shouldst cause the patriarch of the Christians (Naṣârâ) to be brought that I may dispute with him before thee[3] so that he may expose to thee his religion". Al-Muʿizz did not confront the patriarch with this and he did not expose him to a disputation with the Jew (Yahûdî), but he said to him : "If thou seest (good) to summon one of thy sons,

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[1] Cairo.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 120.

[3] *Lit.* between thy hands.

with the king al-Muʿizz [1] and the men of his State on account of his goods and of his wares which had reached (them), in which he used to deal with them. All the archons (ἄρχων) of Miṣr [2] loved him and honoured him. (While) the people were assembling in the Church of the two Martyrs Sergius (Sargîûs) and Bacchus (Wâkhus) [3] at Miṣr [2] in Kaṣr aš-Šamʿ [4], which is the Catholic (καθολική) one, and (while) the bishops and the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) were assembling for the feast, Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Zarʿah entered to pray in the Church. Then one of the archons (ἄρχων) made a sign to one of the bishops, saying : "Ye are seeking for him who is fit for the patriarchate, and lo, God has sent to us him who is worthy of it". A number of those who were present heard (this), and his words [5] pleased them, but they did not shew it. Then one of his (Abraham's) friends, the archons (ἄρχων), called him, as if he wished to speak to him about something. When he advanced and arrived in their company, they all cried out : "This is he whom the Lord hath chosen". They seized him at once and put fetters of iron upon him. He cried out and wept and said : "I am not worthy of this charge". They bore him away at once and journeyed with him to Alexandria and consecrated him patriarch there.

He (Abraham) abolished simony (χειροτονία) which the patriarchs used to practise [6] and to take dînârs as a loan on it (ordination). He gave alms of all that he possessed, and he had great wealth, and his memory was honoured more than (that) of those who were before him. Al-Muʿizz used to cause him (Abraham) to be brought to him at all times to take his opinion on what concerned him and to receive his blessing, and he asked him to live in Miṣr [2].

When he (Abraham) saw a number of the archons (ἄρχων) taking concubines and begetting children by them, he excommunicated him

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[1] *Lit.* There was great favour between him and between the king al-Muʿizz.
[2] Cairo.
[3] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 181 sqq.
[4] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 155 sqq.
[5] *Lit.* saying.
[6] *Lit.* take.

to their places, they (the Egyptians) did not find wheat to sow until the merchants transported (it) to them from Syria (aš-Šâm).

Then the father, the patriarch, Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ), died after he had remained (on the Throne) eighteen years. At the end of his days, there were very good conditions of life, so that wheat was sold at twelve ardabs (ⲉⲣⲧⲟⲃ) for a dînâr, and it was thrown to the people by the order of the Sulṭân.

The twenty-fourth biography of the biographies of the Holy Church. Abba Abraham (Anbâ Afrahâm) the Syrian (as-Suryânî), and he is the sixty-second of (their) number, (and) was known as Ibn Zaʿrah [1].

When Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ) the patriarch went to his rest, and the Throne remained vacant the bishops of the land (χώρα) of Miṣr [2], from the Rîf (ar-Rîf) [3] and from the Two Ṣaʿîds (aṣ-Ṣaʿîdîn), and the scribes of Miṣr [4] and the priests of Alexandria assembled and remained for several days, but they did not find anyone whom it pleased them to advance (to the patriarchate).

There was in Miṣr [4] a man, a Syrian (Suryânî) merchant, whose name was Abraham (Ibrahîm) ibn Zarʿah. He used to give alms to the widows, the poor, the hidden [5] and the feeble. He was an old man (šaikh) whose beard descended upon his breast like (that of) our father Abraham (Ibrahîm) the first (patriarch). He was in great favour

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[1] A marginal note in red, more complete in MS. A. reads : "This father sat on the patriarchal throne during the reign of al-Muʿizz, the first Calif (Khalîfah) of the Fâṭimîd (al-Fâṭimît) dynasty. In his days, he ordered that the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) ... and the affair of the mountain is explained in this biography. May God exalt his rank and declare his sanctity and purity, and what He, God, did to him, in all the quarters of the earth".

[2] Egypt.

[3] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[4] Cairo.

[5] Cf. *H. P. E. C.,* vol. II, Part I, p. 63, n. 1.

were : Tarnûṭ[1], Aûrâṭ[2], Nastarûh[3], Anḥlûâ[2], Iṣṭaf[2], Ḥaryûṭ[2], Itušûâ[4], Abû Rašâ[2], Diḳahlat[5], Niḳîûs[6], and many places (for which) time does not suffice to mention them all.

The father Abba Menas (Anbâ Mînâ) the patriarch was, during all this, sojourning in the Rîf (ar-Rîf)[7]. When the famine became intense, he removed (from there) and dwelt in a village of the district of Tîdâ[8], known as Maḥallat Danyâl[9], until a chief woman of the inhabitants of Balḳûnah[10] (who was) rich and god-fearing, her name being Dinah (Dînâ), supported, during the remainder of the days of the famine, the patriarch and his disciples and those who belonged to him. He (Menas) remained (thus) for one year, and he did not enter into Alexandria nor (go) to Wâdî Habîb[11] to consecrate[12] the Chrism (μύρον). Then he built a fine altar at Maḥallat Danyâl[9] under the name of my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ) and bore the Chrism (μύρον) on to it[13].

When the seven years of the famine had ended and God had granted to the people plenty and the inhabitants of the West had returned

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[1] Cf. A. R. Guest, *The Delta in the Middle Ages,* in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1912, p. 978.

[2] Not identified.

[3] Amélineau, p. 275.

[4] Not identified. The second letter has no dots.

[5] Amélineau, p. 509.

[6] Amélineau, p. 277.

[7] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[8] Amélineau, p. 504.

[9] Cf. Extract from the Chronicle of Abû'l-Makârim Sa'd Allah ibn Ǧirǧis Mas'ûd given by M. Simaika Pasha, *Guide to the Coptic Museum* (Arabic edition), Cairo, 1930-1932, vol. II, p. 232.

[10] Cf. A. R. Guest, *The Delta in the Middle Ages,* in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1912, pp. 966-967.

[11] Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

[12] *Lit.* to raise.

[13] For details of the procession which the patriarch makes with the Chrism, when he consecrates it at the Monastery of Saint Macarius, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.,* Part III, pp. 39-47.

opened the gates of the city, and Maš'alah entered it with great glory, and he made for them a great banquet and invited all of them. This was a thing which Kišlâm had arranged with him (Maš'alah) that it (the banquet) should be prepared for them. He set before them much food and drink and he sware to them by the head of the king al-Mu'izz that none of them should depart to his dwelling-place for three days, but should remain with him[1] eating and drinking with him[1]. After the three days, they became intoxicated from drinking, and he shut the door upon them and ordered his soldiers to slay them all. They slew them, and he crucified them on the wall of the city before dawn (aṣ-ṣubḥ). When it was morning (al-ghadât), the inhabitants of the city saw them, and they feared[2] greatly[3]. Then he ordered most of the wall to be demolished, and it was demolished and it has remained demolished until now.

In the first year, (when) these Moors (al-Magharibah) ruled, the land of Miṣr[4] dried up (ϣⲁⲣⲕⲉ) and was not irrigated, and a famine started. In the second year, the Nile rose, and the people sowed (their lands), and their crops prospered, but when the dew fell, a multitude of rats descended upon it, and the crops were destroyed. In the third year, a wind came upon the crops (and) destroyed them. In the fourth year, huge locusts descended upon the crops and ate them up. The famine did not cease until the end of seven successive years, and the famine was great in all Miṣr[4], so that the land (χώρα) of Miṣr[4] was emptied of people on account of the number of deaths and of the hunger which occurred. In the seventh year, half a waibah (ⲱⲓⲡⲓ) and a quarter of a waibah (ⲱⲓⲡⲓ) of wheat[5] (reached the price of) one dînâr. A number of the episcopal sees were depopulated on account of their being empty of people, and bishops were not appointed to them, but they were joined to the populated sees * which were neighbouring to them. They *fol. 140 r°

[1] MS. me (*sic*).
[2] 'They feared' missing from text, supplied from *MS.* A.
[3] *Lit.* a great fear.
[4] Egypt.
[5] *i. e.* 3/4 waibah.

despatched to it (Tinnîs) a man of Kutâm (Kutâmî) whose name was Maš'alah, and with him there were many men. When he arrived, those evil-doers shut the gates of the city in his face, and they fought against him for three months until the city was in an uproar on account of thirst, because their water (was) from the lake which would be fresh[1] for three months in the year (during) the rise of the Nile[2], and they would fill their cisterns from it. Then it (the lake) would be salt for nine months, and ships would carry to them fresh[1] water from the river Nile for (a distance of) a day's journey. When they (the inhabitants) made an uproar, Ḳišlâm came together with their chiefs, and their number was one hundred men, and he said to them, while they were on the wall : "How long shall we straiten this city and remain thus? If ye will obey me, I will be a mediator between you and between this amîr Maš'alah, and I will take from him for each one of you ten dînârs and a fine robe of honour and he will confer on you the administration of this city on his behalf, for ye have no power to resist the Sulṭân". They approved of his words[3] and they said to him : "Thou shalt be the mediator in this affair. Whatsoever thou shalt enjoin upon us, we will not gainsay thee". Then the assembly of those young men separated, and everyone of them went to his (own) place and there remained (none) save the aforesaid hundred (chiefs). Then Ḳišlâm ordered the gate to be opened, and he went out through it and the gate was closed, and there went out with him the elders (šuyûkh) of the Muslims of the district with whom he was in agreement regarding this matter[4], and they went to Maš'alah. When they went in to him, Ḳišlâm informed him of all that he had decided on and (of what) he had done, and he took from him (Maš'alah) a thousand dînârs and a hundred goodly robes of honour. He (Maš'alah) wrote with his hand that he would not oppress them. They were reassured thereat, and they returned to the city, and they delivered to everyone of them ten dînârs and a robe of honour, and informed them of the contents of the writing which he (Maš'alah) had written. Then they rejoiced and their hearts were reassured and they

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[1] *Lit.* sweet. — [2] *Lit.* the high Nile. — [3] *Lit.* saying. — [4] *Lit.* opinion.

said to them : "Aid me and I will protect your lands and save you the tax". A great number followed him. When reports of him reached the king al-Muʿizz on his arrival in Miṣr[1], he despatched troops to him. When the Bašmûrites (al-Bašâmirah) saw the troops, they took counsel among themselves and said : "How shall we do mischief to the king, and be safe from what will happen from him?" Then each one of them separated to his place, and that wretched Tîr fled to Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[2] and the troops pursued him. Then he embarked on a ship and escaped to Palestine (Filisṭîn) and entered Jaffa (Yâfâ). They seized him there, and he remained for a month being given to drink sesame oil (sîriǧ) until his skin was raised from his flesh and his skin peeled and came off like the skin of a water-bottle. Then they stuffed it with straw and crucified it on a beam.

The inhabitants of Tinnîs[3] were in great straits at that time on account of (some) bold youths (who) were in it, and (who) had become masters of it and had robbed a number of the rich who were in it, of (their) money and they imposed (a fine in) money on its inhabitants (and) they took it from them. They used to gather together to eat and to drink, and everyone of them did what he wished, so that they took the virgin daughters from their parents * and likewise the women, and no one dared to speak to them. *fol. 139 v°

There were in Tinnîs[3] certain people of the Christians (Naṣârâ) known as the Children of Ḳislâm, and they were called by this name on account of (what) their father did. It (happened) that their father was a wise man, and when he saw that the wickedness of those bold (youths) multiplied and increased, he wrote to the king al-Muʿizz asking help from him. He said in his letter, "In thy kingdom (there is) a city called Tinnîs[3] in which there are a thousand Muslim youths who do such and such things", and he exposed to him all their actions. "Now it is necessary that the amîr should send one of his people to be the wâlî of it (Tinnîs), and that there should be with him a good army. When he reaches us, I will assist him in whatever he may need". Al-Muʿizz

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[1] Egypt. — [2] Amélineau, p. 116. — [3] Amélineau, p. 507.

most of their army (was composed of) naked infantry wrapped (only) in cloaks of wool. It happened that when they fought, they put their cloaks on their arms and fought with swords and arrows made of wood (nuššâb) and the vemnants of fine lances with which they pierced the Ikhšidians (Ikhšîdiyah) and killed them. Their flags were pieces of cloth dyed and marvellously coloured with threads of silver (as) an emblem of victory. When they saw them unfold them (the flags), they became strong for battle. When the Ikhšidians (Ikhšîdiyah) put up the black flags which were with them, their troops were routed. When the master (ustâdh) Fâtik perceived that these flags were put up by their bearers, and that they started to flee, he crossed over to them in wrath and killed them, but he was routed together with his troops. The Moors (al-Magharibah) continued pursuing them and slaying them as far as Bilbais[1], and they took captive a number of their chiefs. Ğawhar put them in irons and despatched them to the West (Maghrib) to his master al-Mu'izz li-dîni-llah. Ğawhar ruled over the land of Miṣr[2], and his arrival in it was in the year six hundred and eighty-three of the Martyrs[3].

As to Abû'l-Yumn Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ) the wazîr of Kâfûr, he found grace before Ğawhar (and) he left him in his position (as) overseer (nâẓir) of the land (χώρα) of Miṣr[2], on account of the trustworthiness and probity for which he was well-known and to which trustworthy people of Miṣr[2] bare witness. Ğawhar built a city at the castle which he called Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) al-Muʿizziyah[4].

There was among the number of the Ikhšidians (al-Ikhšîdiyah) a master (ustâdh), an amir, whose name was Tîr[5], and he was wâlî of al-Bašmûr[6], and he it was who built the mosque (masğid) outside Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). He prevented all the inhabitants of al-Bašmûr[6] (al-Bašâmirah) from paying the poll-taxes (ğawâlî) and drove them to disobey Ğawhar and

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(1) Amélineau, p. 333.

(2) Egypt.

(3) *i. e.* A. D. 966-967. This is an incorrect date for this event.

(4) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

(6) Amélineau, p. 350.

and seated him on a lofty throne in his palace, and they clothed him in a robe with very long sleeves, * so that they reached to the door of the audience chamber in which he was. They stationed servants before him [1], and they prevented everyone (who) came to salute him from going in to him, and they said : "Our lord commands that thou shouldst kiss his sleeve and salute him from outside, because he is sick [2] and can not endure that anyone enters in to him". They had placed someone behind the throne on which they had seated [him], so that when the people saluted him, he would move his head and his sleeve, as if he were replying to them. No one of the people of his palace knew about this, except the two masters (ustâdhîn) who had been attached to him and his concubines and Abû'l-Yumn Cosmas (Ḳuzmân) ibn Menas (Mînâ).

*fol. 139 r°

He (Kâfûr) remained thus for three years, and his wazîr collected the taxes and directed affairs until certain people learned the news (of this) and wrote to the king of the West whose name was Maʿadd Abû Tamîm al-Muʿizz-li-Dîni'llah [3]. When he (al-Muʿizz) learned this, he despatched one of his generals [4] whose name was Ǧawhar [5], and he was a brave (man) and a warrior, and with him there was a large army. When the Ikhšidians (al-Ikhšîdiyah) heard news of him, they went out to fight against him, and they prevented the ships from crossing (the river). That year there was little water (in the Nile). Certain people knew the place of the ford which was opposite to Šaṭanûf [6]. When the chief of the Ikhšidians (Ikhšîdiyah), namely, the master (ustâdh) whose name was Fâtik learned... He was a brave (man) (and) a warrior, and his army (was composed of) fighting men, but there was not among them any who knew how to shoot [7] with arrows made of wood (nuššâb), except a few. As regards those who arrived from the West (Maghrib),

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(1) *Lit.* between his hands.

(2) *Lit.* weak.

(3) A. D. 953-975.

(4) *Lit.* a general of his generals.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Ǧawhar ar-Rûmî was wazîr and commander of the forces, A. D. 953-999.

(6) Amélineau, p. 424.

(7) *Lit.* throw.

lawful and what is contrary to the Canon (*κανών*). Tell us the truth concerning thyself". He said to them : "The matter is correct, but bring the woman". Then they brought her, and the patriarch said to her : "Make known to them the secret which is between me and thee", and she informed them of this. When they heard her words, they glorified God on knowing the truth of the story from the woman and from all her family.

That year in which this father Menas (Mînâ) was made patriarch was the year six hundred and seventy-three of the Martyrs [1].

Miṣr [2] at that time belonged to the Calif (Khalîfah) of Baghdâd. The wâlî of it (Egypt) (who was appointed) by him (the Calif) was a man known as the Ikhšîd [3]. He was appointed three years before this father was made patriarch [4]. Then he journeyed to Palestine (Filisṭîn) and died there. He left behind (him) two sons, one of them was Abû'l-Ḳasim and the other (was) Abû'l-Ḥasan [5]. They were appointed to the government (wilâyat) in the place of their father.

An insurgent made an insurrection against them; (he was) from the West and his name was Ḥanâniyâ and they fled away before him to Palestine (Filisṭîn), and he took possession of Miṣr [2]. When they learned that his troops were in Miṣr [2] only, they returned to fight against him and they routed him.

They were both youths and with them there was a master (ustâdh) (who had) belonged to their father, whose name was Kâfûr [6]. He was of Nubian (Nûbî) race (*γένος*), captured from the lands of Nubia (Nûbah), and his master had given him in his childhood to one who taught him writing and literature and all that he needed (to know). When he (Kâfûr) grew up and he (his master) saw that he was distinguished and skilled, he delivered to him his kingdom and his two children. This (one) was like Joseph (Yûsuf) in Miṣr [2]. When seven years had passed both the sons died, and the master (ustâdh) Kâfûr succeeded them. Then he (Kâfûr) died and the chiefs of the State took him and embalmed him

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[1] *i. e.* A. D. 956-957. — [2] Egypt. — [3] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-85. — [4] This is chronologically incorrect. — [5] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 86. — [6] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

what is required by them, and that it is requisite that he who is advanced to this dignity should be of middle age, neither an elder (šaikh) nor a young man, lest the lust of the body should torment him, nor one advanced in old age, lest his body should weigh him down and he be unable to do what is necessary for him (to do)". Then they said to him : "We shall not leave thee at all except thou make known to us him who is fit for this dignity". When he understood that they would not leave him except he indicated to them another, he said to them : "My son Menas (Mînâ) is fit for this charge, and I testify for him with regard to this and to the beauty of his godly way of life and that he is learned and of middle age". Then all of them cried out : "Worthy, worthy, worthy", and they presented themselves to him (Menas) and took him by force and bound iron (fetters) on his feet and bore him to Alexandria and consecrated him patriarch in it.

The bishops and the elders (šuyûkh) returned with him, and (when) he passed by his aforesaid hamlet, he turned aside to it in order to greet his family. When news of him reached them, they went out to receive him with censers and crosses and they conducted him to the house to rest. As he sat (there), a multitude (of people) being with him, an evil man among the inhabitants of the hamlet presented himself and said to one of the bishops : "Do ye not say that it is not permitted to him who has been married to become patriarch?" He said to him : "Yea". Then he said : "This (one) has been married and his wife is still living with us until now in the village". When that bishop heard this saying, he was grieved and he informed the rest of the bishops who were with him and said to them : "O my brethren, know that a great misfortune and shame has befallen us and that we are become a reproach to everyone". He made known to them the news, and they were silent and became drunk, (though) not with wine[1], through grief and affliction. When Menas (Mînâ) the patriarch saw them taking counsel together and knew that they (were doing so) on account of him, he said to them : "O my brethren, why take ye counsel?" They said to him : "We have learned that thou art married and we have done to thee what is not

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[1] Cf. *Is.* 51, 21*.

so that they might marry her to another man, but she did not respond to this and she did not agree with their opinion. She said to them : "(This is) what the Lord has judged against me. I shall abide in this house of mine, sorrowing for my husband until the day of my death".

When the aforesaid Menas (Mînâ) had dwelt for three years in the monastery and his affair had been hidden from his father and his family, —then they learned news of him after that, that he was alive and had become a monk in the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maķâr)[1] - his family hastened and went to him and they saw him there alive, serving God the Exalted (and) glorifying Him. The woman kept the covenant which had been established between her and him and she did not break it. This (one)[2] remained in Wâdî Habîb[3] for a long time, then he became an anchorite.

When the father, Abba Theophanius (Anbâ Tâûfânîûs) the patriarch, went to his rest, the bishops and the archons (ἄρχων) assembled to appoint (a patriarch) in his stead. Reports of this father, the saintly elder (šaikh), the father of the Cell (κελλίον), and of his devotion in the monasteries and of the knowledge which he possessed, reached them. Then they went to him and they did not constrain him and did not speak with him about what he did not wish and did not trouble him on account of his sanctity, but they spoke to him quietly and gravely, saying : "We have come to thee, O our saintly father, to call thee to a divine charge that thou shouldst be for us a father on the Apostolic Throne. All of us make an obeisance (μετάνοια) to thee for God's sake * that thou send us not away disappointed, but take on this charge and accept our effort on the part of the Lord", and all of them prostrated themselves before him. When they did this, and he saw that he was vanquished by them, he said to them : "Lift up your heads, I will not gainsay you". When they lifted up their heads and wished to place their hands upon him and to consecrate him, he said to them : "By an order from God, hearken to me to what I shall say to you. Lo, ye see in me an aged elder (šaikh), and no force remains in me for this charge, because it is a great charge, and ye know the Canons (κανών) of the Church and

* fol. 138 v°

[1] Cf. p. 118, n. 3. — [2] *i. e.* Menas. — [3] Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

Let us say now that we came together and fulfilled the desire of our bodies and that we received children both female and male, what would be the advantage of this and what profit should we have from it? Shall we not die at the end of this and the grave be its termination? Both of these things must occur, as it is written : 'The world passeth away and all its desires, but he who doeth good endureth for ever[1]' ". When he had reassured the woman's mind[2] with these words[3] and similar (ones) from the Holy Scriptures, to preserve the chastity of their bodies, he remained thus for three days until he had strengthened her faith. Then he said to her : "O my sister, the mind[2] of each of us has been reassured. Sit thou now in thy house, and I shall go to Wâdî Habîb[4] to become a monk, but keep this secret and do not inform anyone of it". She said to him : "Yea". Then he arose on the fourth day very early (ghalasan), and no one knew of it, and he went to the aforesaid Wâdî and dwelt in the aforesaid Cell (*κελλίον*) which is Dirnabâ[5], with a saintly elder (šaikh) who was father of the Cell (*κελλίον*). He instructed him in the fear of God, and when he made known to him the secret, he clothed him with the garments of monasticism. He concealed his case for three years, and no one knew about him of those who knew him.

It was on the second day of his journeying from his house that his family asked about him that he should go out to them as was his wont, but they did not find him. Then they asked his wife about him, and she said to them : "He went out from me since already a good part of the night". They searched for him diligently[6], but they did not find him. That marriage was turned into mourning and grief. When the days of their mourning[7] which followed the rejoicing and the marriage were accomplished, the family of the woman wished to take her to them

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[1] Cf. *John* I, 2, v. 17*; neither the Sa'idic nor the Bohairic has the reading 'he who doeth good'.

[2] *Lit.* heart.

[3] *Lit.* this speech.

[4] Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

[5] Cf. p. 124, n. 7.

[6] *Lit.* a diligent searching.

[7] *Lit.* making mourning.

He cried out and blasphemed and said what those who are opposed (to us) say. It is said that one of the disciples of the bishops who were with him went down in the night into the hold [1] and wet a pillow and placed it on his (Theophanius') face, while he was sleeping, and sat upon it until he was dead. And it is said that he was given something to drink so that he died [2], through fear of the disgrace. The duration of his patriarchate was four years and six months.

Menas (Mînâ) the patriarch, and he is the sixty-first of (their) number [3].

There was consecrated in his place a man of Ṣandalâ [4], the son of a saintly monk of the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) [5] in Wâdî Habîb [6] from the Cell (κελλίον) known as Dirnabâ [7]. This man was elect, and the reason for his monastic life [8] was that his parents forced him into marriage in his youth against his wishes. He was very obedient to them, and they completed all that was necessary for him, for the marriage, while he looked on at it as (if it were) a vision or a dream. When they had conducted him into his bridal-chamber with his wife and left him with her, she being of his family and tribe, he sat down and said to her : "O my sister, what profit have we in this world?

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(1) Cf. p. 123, note 4.

(2) *i. e.* he was poisoned.

(3) A marginal note in red reads : 'This father sat on the patriarchal throne during the governorship (wilâyat) of Kafur (Kâfûr) the Ikhšîd (al-Ikhšîd) over Egypt (Miṣr) in the reign of the Calif (Khalîfah) of Baghdâd in the year six hundred and seventy-three (*sic*) [MS. A. has 'ninety-three'] of the Martyrs (— A. D. 976-977). After three years of his reign (*lit.* sitting), Ğawhar arrived from the west and conquered Egypt (Miṣr) and delivered it to al-Muʿizz, and built Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) [MS. A. adds 'after a year'].

(4) Amélineau, p. 119.

(5) Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, pp. 31-129.

(6) Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 3.

(7) Dirnabâ is possibly from the Coptic ϯⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲡⲁ, 'The Cell of the Papa (Patriarch)', cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 362.

(8) *Lit.* monasticism.

Theophanius (Tâûfânîûs) the patriarch, and he is the sixtieth of (their) number [1].

They consecrated in his place Theophanius (Tâûfânîûs) (who was) from among the inhabitants of Alexandria, and he was already aged. It is related concerning him that (his) bosom became contracted [2] on account of his great age and his senility. He paid to the Alexandrians the thousand dînârs which had been agreed upon for them every year, and then he had difficulty (to pay) in certain years, and he asked them to remit to him something of it, but they would not do (so). They quarrelled with him and straitened him and said to him : "We shall not exempt thee from a single dirham of the thousand dînârs". Then they said to him : "Thou art more honourable than we on account of these vestments and the skhêma (σχῆμα), (but) we invested thee with them and they belong to us. Either pay to us what was settled (to be paid) to us by thee and those who were before thee, if not, then give to us our vestments". Then indignation overcame him, and he took off the vestments and the skhêma (σχῆμα) from him and threw them in their faces and said to them : "If they belong to you, then take them. I have no need of them". When he took them off and threw them at them, an unclean spirit descended upon him and struck him down, so that he was bound with iron (chains) for the rest of the days of his life. Then they hid him away so that no one should see him. Then the bishops assembled and bore him to Miṣr [3] so that they might treat him. They carried him on to a vessel and set sail with him. Respect did not allow them to put him on the deck of the vessel * but they put him into the hold [4]. *fol. 138 r°

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[1] A marginal note in red reads : This is he whom the grace of God deserted [MS. A. supplies the lacuna 'and he became mad'].

[2] *i. e.* he became ill-tempered.

[3] Cairo.

[4] Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, p. 407. This word is from the Coptic ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧ, cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 484 *a*. Cf. also G. S. Colin, *Notes de dialectologie arabe*, II. *Technologie de la batellerie du Nil*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, t. XX (1922), pp. 59-60.

conferred upon him [1]. She had become very aged. When he reached the hamlet, and (there was) with him a great multitude of bishops and other (people) to bid him farewell, it was said to his mother, as she sat spinning in her house, "Lo! thy son, Macarius (Maḳârah), has become patriarch and has arrived here to visit thee". She did not answer a single word to him who said this to her, and she did not move from her place and she did not go out to receive him, but that old woman who knew (of his arrival) sat at her work weeping bitterly [2]. When he (Macarius) entered the door of her house, she did not rise to receive him, but remained sitting (and) weeping. He was joyful at the gift which he had received [3]. When he saw her in this state, he was exceedingly ashamed on account of them who were with him, because she contemned him before them, (and) because she did not receive him and rejoice with him, but wept while he stood (there). Then he said to her : "O aged (one), perhaps, thou dost not know me, I am thy son Macarius (Maḳârah). The Lord has given to me this great glory. Dost thou not rejoice with me now, I (being clothed) with this vesture which is the vesture and glory of kings?" Then she answered him with understanding and said to him : "As to me, I know thee, my son; as to thee, thou knowest not what thou hast become. Thou art joyful at what thou hast received, but I grieve for thee. Would that they had brought thee to me borne dead on a bier than that thou shouldst come in to me with this empty glory! Regard not, my son, what thou hast received and rejoice, but weep and grieve, because thou shalt be answerable for the sins of all these people who glorify thee". He did not understand what she said to him at all by reason of the respect and embarrassment and shame (which he felt) on account of the people who were with him; and he went out from her, being grieved (and) weeping because she had contemned him and had spoken (thus) to him in the presence of his people. He remained on the Throne twenty years, and he went to his rest on the twenty-fourth of Baramhât.

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[1] *Lit.* what had befallen him in the way of an exalted gift.

[2] *Lit.* a great weeping.

[3] *Lit.* what he had received in the way of the great gift.

he had already died in exile. His disciple, (however), had survived, and he prayed (to be allowed) to journey to Miṣr [1], but the king did not permit him (to do this), and said to him : "Thou shalt sit in the place of thy master". Then he asked the king to allow him to journey to Miṣr [1] so that the patriarch might consecrate him metropolitan (muṭrân), and (that) he would return. He (the king) would not do (this), but clothed him with the garments (of bishops) against his wishes and installed him without consecration. He remained up to the time of the father Philotheus (Filâtâûs), the patriarch, till he became old and very aged, and he used to perform the acts * of bishops. *fol. 137 v°

Then the father Cosmas (Ḳusmâ) went to his rest, and the duration of his patriarchate was twelve years, and he went to his rest on the third day of Baramhât. May his prayer be with us. Amen.

Abba Macarius (Anbâ Maḳârah) the patriarch, and he is the fifty-ninth of (their) number.

In his (Cosmas') place there was consecrated Macarius (Maḳârah), a monk of the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) [2], (who was) from a village in the Rîf (ar-Rîf) [3] called Šubrâ [4], near Alexandria. When he had been consecrated in Alexandria and at the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) [3] and in Miṣr [5] according to the custom, and when he had finished his affairs in Miṣr [5], he went down to Alexandria, since none of the patriarchs had sojourned in Alexandria after Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyâl) the patriarch, who sold the houses belonging to the churches.

While going down, he determined to pass by his mother to greet her and to please her with (news of) the great gift which had been

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[1] Egypt.

[2] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'n Natrûn,* Part III, pp. 31-129.

[3] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[4] Amélineau, p. 456.

[5] Cairo.

hands. On being informed of this [1], remove Peter (Buṭrus) from you and install this (man) Menas (Mînâ) in the see. News has also reached us that he (Peter) seated the younger son of the king on the throne [2] and rejected the elder (one), and this is unjust, because the elder has more right to the kingdom than the younger". They both went with the letters to the elder son of the king who was alone in a solitary place, and a few people had followed him. When he learned of the contents of the counterfeit letters, he rejoiced exceedingly, and he gathered together the army to him and made known to them the letters and what was in them, and he found thereby a means to make war against his brother. The army joined him, and he vanquished him (his brother) and captured him and banished him, and he banished the metropolitan (muṭran) also, and installed that monk Menas (Mînâ) in his place. After a few days a difference arose between these two false monks, and Victor (Buḳṭur) plundered the cell (κελλίου) of the archbishopric (maṭranah) and took all that was in it and became a fugitive and embraced al-Islâm and wasted all that of which he had got possession in what was not pleasing to God.

When reports of Menas (Mînâ) reached the patriarch and of what he had done in order to banish the metropolitan (muṭrân) and to install himself in his place, he (Cosmas) grieved exceedingly and he wrote letters (and) anathematized and excommunicated him. When the king heard of this, he took Menas (Mînâ) the false monk and slew him. Afterwards, the patriarch did not consecrate for them (the Abyssinians) a metropolitan (muṭrân) during the remainder of the days of his patriarchate, and neither did the patriarch who sat (upon the Throne) after him, until after [3] five patriarchs, and (this) was Philotheus (Filâtâûs). The biography will make this clear to us when we have need for the knowledge thereof, when we reach it with the help of God, since it is not requisite that we should mention the rest of the account of this before we reach it. Then the king ordered that Peter (Buṭrus) the metropolitan (muṭrân) should be brought back to his see, but he found that

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[1] *Lit.* them (the letters). — [2] *Lit.* in the kingdom. — [3] *Lit.* the completion of.

(al-Hind) and the parts near to it. It is included in the see of my lord Mark (Mârî Markuṣ) the Evangelist up to our own [1] day.

When the said metropolitan (muṭrân) had come thither—his name was Peter (Buṭrus)—its (Abyssinia's) blessed king received him with joy. When the death of its king drew near, he (the king) summoned the metropolitan (muṭrân) and delivered to him the crown of the kingdom and his two sons and said to him : "Thou art the vicar of the King Christ, the Great God, by Whose authority are all the kingdoms of the world. Behold, I have delivered to thee my kingdom and my two sons, and I have committed them into thy hands so that thou mayest direct them by the will of the Lord, and upon the one of them whom thou shalt judge to be worthy, gentle and good, place the crown of the kingdom". Then the king went to his rest. The metropolitan (muṭrân) was a wise man and saw that the younger son was more accomplished than the elder one, and he placed upon him the crown and installed him as king. Lo! a monk from the Monastery of Abba Anthony (Anbâ Andûnah) [2] was making a tour round the countries and was passing through the land, and with him a companion, who was making a tour with him, whose name was Victor (Buḳṭur). They both penetrated into the lands of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabašah), and presented themselves to the metropolitan (muṭrân) and demanded of him that he should give them dînârs and endow them both with some of his money, but he did not give anything to them. Then Satan (aš Šaiṭân) instructed them that one of the two of them should put on the garments of bishops and that the other should act as his disciple. They wrote counterfeit letters, as if from the patriarch, in which they said : "News has reached us that there has come to you an erring man, whose name is Peter (Buṭrus), and that he has said about us that we sent him to you as metropolitan (muṭrân) and (this) is not correct, and neither are the letters which (he has) with him from us, nor have we consecrated him, but he has counterfeited (as if) from us, what has reached you through his hands. He whom we really sent is the metropolitan (muṭrân) who shall come to you with our letters in his

[1] *Lit.* this our day.

[2] *i. e.* the Monastery of Saint Anthony in the Eastern Desert.

breaking his fast. He did not find a rest from this, because at the beginning (and in) his youth he had humbled himself and tired it. When he became patriarch and found rest, this thing [1] was stirred up in him. When he had tired himself through fasting and had not found rest, he complained of this to the elders (šuyûkh), the monks. They gave him counsel and said to him : "This spirit is not humbled save by humility and abasement". Thereupon, he made a shovel of iron for himself and began to rise up at night after the prayer and to put on a sleeveless thouragi (ⲑⲟⲩⲣⲁϫⲓ) [2] (and) to go round the cells (κελλίον) of the monks outside and to clean out their latrines, without that anyone knew about him. He continued thus for two years until that (lust) left him.

He remained patriarch for eleven years, and he went to his rest on the eleventh of Amšîr, and he was buried at the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) [3] in Wâdî Habîb [4].

Cosmas (Ḳusmâ) the patriarch, and he is the fifty-eighth of (their) number.

Cosmas (Ḳusmâ) was consecrated after him (Gabriel) patriarch, and there was manifested in his days a great (and) marvellous thing. This was that he (Cosmas) consecrated a metropolitan (muṭrân) from among the monks, for the regions of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabašah) which is a vast country (χώρα), namely, the kingdom of Saba (Sâbâ) from which the queen of the South came to Solomon (Sulaiman), the son of David (Dâwûd) the king [5]. *fol. 137 r° * If the king of it wished to make a tour through it, he would take a whole year making the tour, Sundays excepted, until he returned to his place. It is a country (χώρα) bordering upon India

[1] *i. e.* the lust.

[2] Cf. p. 111, n. 5.

[3] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'n-Natrûn,* Part III, pp. 31-129.

[4] Cf. p. 109, n. 3.

[5] Cf. *Matt.* 12, 42.

When he went to Alexandria so that they might consecrate him, the inhabitants of Alexandria said to him, according to their established custom, "Write for us in thy handwriting the Creed". He spake to them a marvellous word : "Bring to us a carpenter to make for these people a new Creed. What need is there of handwriting (when) we are established in the Orthodox Faith which the Fathers, the three hundred and eighteen, set forth at Nicaea? We do not add to it nor do we take away from it". When they had consecrated him, the inhabitants of Alexandria demanded of him the thousand dînârs which Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyâl) the deceased had agreed (to pay) in place of what he had taken from the (sale of) the houses belonging to the Church, but he could not pay anything [1]. The circumstances made it necessary (for him) to journey through the see and to violate [2] the canons (*κανών*), and the word of God became (as) a merchandise (which is) sold for dînârs to him who asks to be ordained priest.

The Diyârîat [3] was fixed in all the sees of Miṣr [4] at a carat (*κεράτιον*) of gold a year for every soul among the men and women. The bishops used to take this (the Diyârîat) and to live on it, and from it they used to pay the Diyârîat [3] to the patriarch every year, which was a sum of dînârs (imposed) upon everyone (of the bishops), according to the wealth of his see. He (Gabriel) used to pay from it (the Diyârîat) to the inhabitants of Alexandria what was arranged for them, and to spend the remainder in alms to his flock.

It is said concerning this saint, Abba Gabriel (Anbâ Ghabryâl) the patriarch, that he remained during the whole of his patriarchate in Wâdî Habîb [5], and that he did not leave it and did not live in the Rîf (ar-Rîf) [6] nor in Miṣr [7] nor in Alexandria. Whenever he went away from there (Wâdî Habîb) on an important business, he would be as a stranger till he returned to the said Wâdî.

It was mentioned concerning him also that the lust of sin used to torment him, and that on account of this he used to fast long without

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[1] *Lit.* his ability did not reach to anything. — [2] *Lit.* loose. — [3] Cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, p. 36. — [4] Egypt. — [5] Cf. p. 109, n. 3. — [6] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq. — [7] Cairo.

The father Gabriel (Ghabryâl) the patriarch, and he is the fifty-seventh of (their) number.

They consecrated Gabriel (Ghabryâl) patriarch. He was a young man from among the inhabitants of Almah [1], and he entered the desert and became a monk at the Monastery of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) at the cell (ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲓ) there called after Dorotheus (Ḍûrutâûs) who is Abû Kamâ [2], brother of John (Yûḥannâ) in the monastic life, and his way

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of life was good in the cell (ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲓ), and everyone who was in it * was laudable in (his) way of life. There was in this cell (ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲓ) a priest, an aged elder (šaikh) called Maximus (Maksîmûs) who said that it was the established custom in this cell (ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲓ) that none of them (the monks) should advance to say the "Alleluia" (ἀλληλούϊα), save he who knew all the Psalms by heart without a book, and this was the reason why the monks knew the Psalms by heart.

Concerning his (Gabriel's) advancement, there was a prophecy of an aged saintly elder (šaikh) called Dorotheus (Durûtâûs). This was that (when) the brethren were come to him once to receive his blessing, and this Gabriel (Ghabryâl) was present with them, all of them sat to hear his (the šaikh's) words, except Gabriel (Ghabryâl) who received his blessing and (then) went out, because he loved solitude and did not keep company with anyone. The elder (šaikh) stretched out his hand and seized the hand of Gabriel (Ghabryâl) and drew him to him, while he smiled a spiritual smile, and said to him : "Thou dost flee from me, O brother, and dost not sit with me on account of thy love of solitude. I say to thee, O my son, that thou shalt certainly sit in the midst of a great multitude of men and women together". When they seized him (Gabriel) by force to make him patriarch, he recalled the speech of this saintly elder (šaikh).

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[1] *i. e.* ⲉⲗⲙⲓ, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part. I, p 134, and Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[2] H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 336, reads : "known as the 'Syrian', that is to say the Father Kama".

from his lands many gifts, many fruits (which were) rare (and) out of season, and he carried them to the amîr. He (the amîr) was pleased with him and asked him about the news of the west. He (Pachomius) said : "There is nought save (what is) good and peaceful for thy Excellency". He remained with him for (some) days and (then) returned after he (the amîr) had ordered him not to conceal from him anything in the way of news that might reach him from the west. Then he (Pachomius) was absent for five days and (then) returned. When he (the amîr) saw him, he feared and thought that news had already reached him. The bishop said to him : "Do not fear, O my master, the amîr, there is nought save (what is) good, only it is not lawful for me to conceal from thee anything of what might be of profit for this kingdom. It is that, (when) I departed from thy presence I was informed that the Melkites (al-Malakiyah) who are opposed to us, who are of the Greeks (ar-Rûm), had appointed for themselves a patriarch, and I feared that he might be an eye of the king of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) here, and that he (the king) might come in ships to Alexandria. For this (reason) I considered that I should inform thee of this". Then he (the amîr) wrote a letter of appointment (*καταστατική*) to the wâlî of Alexandria that he should obey him (Pachomius) in whatsoever he should command him. When he (Pachomius) received the order, he went down to Alexandria and ordered that they should seize the patriarch of the Melkites (al-Malakiyah) who was no patriarch, and that they should cut off the two fingers of his right hand with which he made the sign of the cross. He found with him (the patriarch) six bishops of his religion which is opposed (to the Monophysites). He tore their garments which were upon them together with those of their patriarch [1]. Then he assembled a synod (*σύνοδος*) of the Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*) bishops, and they went to Wâdî Habîb [2] with the help of God Whose Name is great and by an order from Heaven [3].

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[1] With regard to this story, E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, p. 329, says : 'suspectissima omnino videtur haec narratio'.

[2] Cf. p. 113, n. 4.

[3] *Lit.* heavenly order.

(side) beside the arch (ḳawṣarah) [1] and noticed the picture of the martyr looking towards the west, and they said : "It is the picture of Saint Theodore (Tâdrus)". There was in the hand of Khumârawaih a bunch of basil and he threw it to the picture and said : "Take it, O knight, O valiant (one)". There came forth from the picture a hand and took the bunch of basil, and the bunch of basil remained in his (the martyr's) hand so that everyone saw it. Khumârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn, was very afraid and astonished at these miracles. Then he commanded that a mark should be made on that picture, that it might be manifest to all ages. Then they painted in his (the martyr's) hand another cross, and that cross is in the hand of that painting until now. From that day he (Khumârawaih) became kind towards the Christians (Naṣârâ), especially the bishops and the monks.

Abba Pachomius (Anbâ Bakhûm), bishop of Taḥâ [2], who had written his name in (the document of) guarantee for the father, the patriarch, had two brothers also bishops, and he had workmen and pages, about three hundred, and they used to guard the regions in his see. Some of them had been taught to shoot [3] with arrows of wood (nuššâb), because the Berbers (al-Barbar) used to make incursions against them from the west, and on account of this the amîr loved him and relied on him to visit those regions, because of his fear of the king of the west who was of the family of Muḥammad and was called al-Fâṭimî. This bishop established a ferry at the west bank (of the river) (so that) news reached him at all times.

When Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyâl) went to his rest, they (the Copts) remained for a time without consecrating a patriarch. The Melkites (al-Malakiyah) consecrated for themselves a patriarch, and they exulted over the Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*) and became exceedingly proud. When the news (of this) reached Abba Pachomius (Abbâ Bakhûm) the bishop, this matter was grievous to him, and he arose immediately and took

(1) Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* vol. II, p. 419. القوصرة is used to translate ⲗⲟⲝⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ 'arch', cf. G. Horner, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar,* pp. 11 and 389.

(2) Amélineau, p. 471.

(3) *Lit.* throw.

summoned the archons (ἄρχων) to him, and they brought the document and he tore it up with his hand, and he returned to his cell (κελλίον), glorifying God (but) grieving over that which had been violated of the Canon (κανών) of the Church and over what would befall his see after him through simony (χειροτονία) and over what was taking place between himself and the Alexandrians.

Then he remained patriarch for twenty-seven years, and he went to his rest on the twenty-first of Amšîr in the days of Khumârawaih, son of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn. The aforesaid[1] Khumârawaih had built a mosque outside Miṣr[2], and it is the mosque which is known by his name[3] until now.

Then Khumârawaih heard reports of Wâdî Habîb[4]. He journeyed to it and entered the Church of Saint Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) and saw his holy body, and asked (questions) concerning it. * It was said to him : "This is the body of the owner of this Church". Then he commanded that it (the body) should be loosed from its shroud, and took hold of the hair of its beard and it opened its eyes in his (Khumârawaih's) face. Then he fell on his back and remained for an hour in a swoon without uttering a sound. Then they carried him to his tent, and they took of the oil in the lamp (κανδήλη) of Abba Macarius (Abû Maḳâr) and anointed his forehead with it. Afterwards, another wonder was manifested to him in this Church, which was that (when) he passed through the door of the Skênê (σκηνή)[5] on its northern

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(1) 'The aforesaid' is added in the margin.

(2) Cairo.

(3) *Lit.* by him.

(4) Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.,* Part III, p. 3.

(5) The term Skênê is strictly applied to the dome of a church, but, as may be gathered from the description of the consecration of a Coptic church, it may be applied also to the space beneath the dome, whether the dome be situated over the sanctuary (haikal) or over another part of the church, cf. G. Horner, *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar,* London, 1902, pp. 12 and 389-390. According to G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (Leipzig, 1934), p. 9, the Skênê is also the place of the singers and readers in front of the sanctuary. The term Skênê has also a wider application, namely, that of Sanctuary. Examples of this use occur frequently in the *History of the Patriarchs, e. g.* the Skênê of Benjamin in the Monastery of St. Macarius which is a small church.

him, "Sit down". Then he sat besides the disciples (of Khaêl) and he said to one of them : "Why is our father, the patriarch, troubled on account of what is demanded of him and of what he expects from the demands on him? Go to him and say to him that after forty days the Lord will tear up the writing [1], and that money will not be demanded of him, but will be left to him". The disciple went up and informed the patriarch about this. He (Khaêl) commanded the disciple to present him (the monk) to him, but they did not find him, and they searched for him (in) the city of Tinnîs [2], but they did not know anything about him (there), so that it was as if the earth had swallowed him up or the heaven had hidden him. They sent to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [3] and to the places near to them, searching for him, but they did not find him.

After three days, Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn departed from Miṣr [4] (and) marched to Damascus (Dimašḳ) [5], on account of the news which reached him (and) which troubled him. He spent on the soldiers three thousand dînârs. He continued marching for twenty-nine days, and did not rest in (any) place. This was a Divine [6] punishment (which) descended upon him from God on account of his injustice. On the completion of the forty days which the monk had announced, Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn died, after his return, an evil death, and his son Khumârawaih reigned [7] in his stead. Thereupon, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlî al-Mardânî, the wazîr, got out the document [8] with the guarantee and delivered it to John (Yûḥannâ) al-Milîğî, his secretary. He sent to summon the father, the patriarch, from Tinnîs [2]. When he (Khaêl) arrived, he stayed at the Church of the Lady at Ḳaṣr aš-Šamʿ [9], where he was first (of all). He (Khaêl)

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[1] *i. e.* the document making Khaêl liable for the ten thousand dînârs.

[2] Améliineau, p. 507.

[3] Améliineau, p. 116.

[4] Cairo.

[5] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-70.

[6] *Lit.* heavenly.

[7] *Lit.* sat.

[8] *Lit.* handwriting.

[9] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 155-181.

thou hast insulted our Faith and it was not necessary for thee to write this, since thou dost not know its meaning, and it is not lawful for thee to insult our Faith, unless there be manifested in it a fault. We have examined carefully what has reached us from others besides thee, since the appearance of your religion until now, and we have not found in it anything like what thou hast offered to us in the way of insults to our [1] Faith, but we have learned that those who were before you were more noble than you, and thou hast not come up to them in any of the arts [2]. Thou hast blasphemed against our belief in the Son of God and hast declared that thou dost not know of a child (born), except from sperm, and this is far from the good way, but reason testifies to us that our God is eternal and has not ceased to live, Who speaks and Whose Word is called Son and Whose Life is the Holy Spirit. We together with you (believe) that God is the Creator of all without a tool (with which) to work, except by His saying "Be, and it was". The language of the remainder of the letter is weak, such as none of those who were before thee wrote".

As regards the father Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyâl), he continued sad at heart [3] on account of the ten thousand dînârs which remained for him (to pay). Then he sought grace from God the Exalted, and he went down to the city of Tinnîs [4] to take from it something in the way of alms from the Christians (Naṣârâ), the lovers of God. Then he made a tour through those regions in order to obtain something else from them. After he had remained in Tinnîs [4] one day, a company (of people) presented themselves to receive his blessing and to ask news of him and (about) what had happened to his case. Lo, a monk whose face was veiled and (who was) thin in body and of contemptible appearance, wearing a ragged thouragi (ⲑⲟⲩⲣⲁϫⲓ) [5], came in to the patriarch in the midst of the assembly and received his blessing. No one said to

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[1] *Lit.* the.

[2] *Lit.* art of the arts.

[3] *Lit.* under a straitened breast.

[4] Amélineau, p. 507.

[5] A monastic garment = θωράκιον, cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 69 *a*.

for them). He (Khaêl) got together from all this and from the alms which were brought to him ten thousand dînârs, as much as he had borrowed, but he still owed ten thousand dînârs to the amîr, (and) he did not know of a way (how to obtain) them.

It happened, whenever this saintly patriarch wrote a letter from himself, that he did not say from Michael (Mîkhâyîl), but from Khâyâ [1], the interpretation of which is "last", that is, the last of those whom his mother, namely, the Church had borne, since her beauty had been turned into affliction through what had happened through taking money from the bishops for the laying on of hands (*χειροτονία*).

In those days raids occurred between the Greeks (ar-Rûm) and the Muslims. The Muslims carried off the Greeks (ar-Rûm) from their lands and brought a very great number [2] of them to Miṣr [3], and likewise the Greeks (ar-Rûm) led away captive many people of the Muslims. Then the two kings Leo (Lawûn) and Alexander (Alâksandarus) wrote a letter to Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn asking for peace and that each of them should release the captives who had fallen into his hands, soul for soul. Ibn Ṭûlûn wrote to the two kings insulting and threatening them, (saying that they were) like a weak man who insults his pursuer, while he (the weak man) is being pursued by him [4]. Then they both wrote a letter to him (Ibn Ṭûlûn), (of which) this is a copy. "From Leo (Lawûn) and Alexander (Alâksandarus) the two kings, the chiefs (appointed) by the Lord Jesus Christ over the lands of the Greeks (ar-Rûm) * (who) write to Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn. Hail to thee according to the degree of thy dignity! Thy letters have reached us in answer to what we had written with regard to the captives, and we have found in them words which contradict one another. First of all, thou addressest us as a friend, then, after that, thou threatenest us as an enemy and (as) one who is afraid, and it is not clear to us upon what we can rely with regard to thee. Let our answer to thee be in the same strain [5]. Nevertheless,

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(1) The Coptic word ϧⲁⲉ (last).
(2) *Lit.* thing.
(3) Egypt.
(4) *Lit.* who runs away, while he who pursues insults him.
(5) *Lit.* according to it.

When the patriarch's senses were restored and his fears allayed, the Synod (σύνοδος) assembled with him and deliberated about the case of the money which had been borrowed and about what remained (to be paid) to the amîr. They agreed [1] to go to their sees and to take from every man a carat (κεράτιον) of gold. They violated by their deed the [2] canon (κανών) of the Fathers, the Apostles (al-Ḥuwâriyûn), and the Saintly Doctors of the Church who say : "Neither gold nor silver is to be taken for the gift of God which is the priesthood, namely the laying on of hands (χειροτονία)". Then they took from the ten bishops whom they had appointed to the sees what had been imposed upon them. Then the father, the patriarch, went to Wâdî Habîb [3] and sold the Ramârum [4] which is the place of standing of the monks in the church for prayer, and he took from each monk for the place of his standing one dînâr. Then he went to Alexandria and asked the priests to allow him to take what was in the churches that he might sell it and take the price (received for) it to the Sulṭân. They did not obey him (in this) and much discussion (took place) between them until it was agreed among them to sell the houses belonging to the churches and to take the [5] price (obtained for them) to the Sulṭân. They (the priests) imposed upon him (Khaêl) the condition that he should give to them every year a thousand dînârs and that this should be a tax imposed upon him every year and upon him who should sit after him on the Throne of Mark (Markuṣ) the Evangelist. They obtained his signature to this and the signatures of his bishops. Then they sold the houses belonging to the churches at Alexandria and delivered to him (Khaêl) the [5] price (obtained

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[1] *Lit.* their opinion was established.

[2] *Lit.* this.

[3] Cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III, p. 3.

[4] This is the Coptic ⲉⲙⲣⲱⲙ in Greek texts under the form ἐμβρίμιον, cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 183*a*. The object in question was originally a kind of bolster and later a very low seat like a footstool. For a description of this, with examples from the Rule of Saint Pachomius, the writings of Saint John Cassian and the Apophthegmata of the Fathers, cf. Henrico Stephano, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, under the word 'Ebyimion'.

[5] *Lit.* their.

what had been settled, (in which) it was witnessed against them that the money (had to be paid) by them [1], and they did this. Then they took the patriarch and tried to go with him to their dwelling-place, but he would not do (it), but he went to the church of the Lady, the Mistress [2], at Kaṣr aš-Šâmʿ [3] * in the lane (zuḳâḳ) of Abû Ḥuṣain, which now belongs to the Melkites (al-Malakiyah). He remained at it twenty days, and the archons (ἄρχων) used to come to him and converse with him and eat and drink with him and receive his blessing. Everyone of them had (a vessel) in which he brought to him (Khaêl) what he required. When the end of the month drew near and nothing of the ten thousand dînârs had been collected for him and the patriarch had nothing at all, they were troubled about this and they counted the sees which were without bishops and found them to be ten. Then they appointed for them (the sees) ten bishops and presented them to him (Khaêl) after they had imposed on them (the obligation to pay) the money which they had to collect within ten days, and he (Khaêl) consecrated them bishops.

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John (Yûḥannâ) and his son brought two thousand dînârs, and the wazîr gave to them one thousand dînârs of his (own) money (as) a loan, and they went to the Muslim secretaries and they borrowed from them seven thousand dînârs. Then they took the ten thousand (dînârs) to the amîr at the end of the month and they sware to him that the patriarch did not have either a dînâr or a dirham and that they did not find anything belonging to him and that all of it (the money) was a loan to him. He (Ibn Ṭûlûn) took the money and delivered to them the writing and they tore it up. John (Yûḥannâ) and his son and others wrote (a document) for the remainder, that is the other ten thousand dînârs. His (Khaêl's) disciple Abba Pachomius (Anbâ Bakhûm), bishop of Ṭaḥâ [4], and another disciple signed it [5], so that there were four who guaranteed the money after four months.

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[1] *Lit.* on their side.
[2] Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, pp. 247-249.
[3] Cf. A. J. Butler, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 155-181.
[4] Amélineau, p. 471.
[5] *Lit.* wrote in it.

and he informed him about the affairs of his kingdom, and he mentioned to him the state of the patriarch. Then the amîr said to him : "I shall kill him, because he has behaved towards me with harshness". He said to him (Ibn Ṭûlûn) : "There is no use in killing him, but let us try to obtain from him something for the treasury, it is better than to kill him". Then he (Ibn Ṭûlûn) said to him : "Perhaps, he (Khaêl) sent to ask thee about this matter", but he (Aḥmad) sware to him and said : "Since the day of his confinement I have not read a letter from him, and no one has spoken to me about him until this occasion when John (Yûḥannâ) the secretary and his son came to me and wept. I sware to them that I would speak to thee on behalf of him (Khaêl)". He (Ibn Ṭûlûn) ordered that John (Yûḥannâ) the secretary and his son should be brought, and when they were present, he wrote for them a letter to the mutawallî of the prison to deliver the patriarch to them that they might go with him whithersoever they wished, and they settled his affair according to what had been arranged. Then he (Khaêl) was brought out from the prison to the house of the wazîr, and he did not enter at all the latrine which was built for him in the prison—he (Khaêl) spent on it three hundred dînârs—because at the hour of its completion God delivered him. He went out from the prison and stayed [1] in a furnished and decorated place, such as was fitting, nearby the wazîr's (house). John (Yûḥannâ) asked permission of the wazîr to carry to him (Khaêl) what was (necessary for) eating every day. The wazîr said : "It (the food) shall be carried to him (Khaêl) from my house, but if thou wish to carry to him anything else, then it is thy affair". He (Yûḥannâ) used to carry to him (Khaêl) every day many things in the way of food and drink. Then his (Khaêl's) affair was settled after many requests and difficulties at twenty thousand dînârs, of which ten thousand (were to be paid) at (the end) of a month, and the remainder which was half (the amount was to be paid) at (the end of) four months.

The soul of Ibn Ṭûlûn rejoiced at this. He was about to set out for Syria (aš-Šâm) [2], and he ordered that (a document) should be written (making) John (Yûḥannâ) and his son Macarius (Maḳârah) (liable) for

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[1] *Lit.* was. — [2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

he said to her : "Thou knowest the length of (time) of the imprisonment of the patriarch, and that a number of the bishops in the territory (κλίμα) of Egypt (Miṣr) are dead, and that none has been appointed in their place, and that there is need to appoint (others) in their place". Then she said to him : "Dost thou not know that John (Yûḥannâ) and Abraham (Ibrahîm), sons of Moses (Mûsâ), who are his (Ibn Ṭûlûn's) secretaries and his own (people) have made efforts to transfer him (Khaêl) from his prison to their dwelling-place, and they were not able (to do so)? How, then, will he (Ibn Ṭûlûn) listen to thee?" He said to her : "I will do what God has put into my heart (to do), and the matter is in God's (hands), Whose power is great". She encouraged him in this. Then he went and he took with him his son (who) was called Macarius (Makârah), and they arose while yet it was dark (ghadât) (and went) to the house of Aḥmad ibn ʿAlî al-Mardânî. He (Aḥmad) had the custom, when he went out very early (ghadât), not to answer anyone nor to listen to his words until he had been to the mosque and had made five prostrations in it. Then he would return to his house and to the place where he was wont to sit [1]. When he returned from the mosque, a candle being in front of him [2], he found John (Yûḥannâ) and his son sitting at the door of his house, for they had spread out the covers of their saddles, and were sitting upon them. When he had given them permission to enter with him, he asked them the reason of their coming so early, contrary to the custom. They bowed down before him [2] and said : "O our lord, the wazîr, we (wish to) inform thee that we have no prayer in our churches nor anyone who pronounces judgment in our affairs. The imprisonment of our patriarch has lasted long and we ask thee to help us, we and all the people of the Christians (Naṣârâ), and that thou shouldst ask the amîr for him". Then he said to them : "Do ye not know the regard (which) he (Ibn Ṭûlûn) has for the sons of Moses (Mûsâ) and the esteem in which he holds them, and how they have asked him many times (for him, *i. e.* the Patriarch), but he did not grant them their request? Nevertheless, I will give my attention to this (matter)". He sware to them. Then he went to the amîr, according to his custom,

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[1] *Lit.* the place of his sitting. — [2] *Lit.* between his hands.

or anything of what has been reported to thee ; and thy Highness knows that we are a people (who are) commanded not to lay up treasures on earth [1] and not to take thought of the morrow [2]. Now I am before thee [3]. Do what thou wilt. Thou hast domination over my body, but my soul is in the hand of its Creator''. When Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn heard this he became angry and said : "In truth, my good reception of thee has caused thee to refuse me thy money. Everyone who is outside our religion, whenever he is honoured, does not know (the meaning) of honour''. Then he ordered that he (Khaêl) should be imprisoned.

There was in the prison in which he (Khaêl) was confined a chief man known as Ibn al-Mudabbir. He was a trustworthy man (who) loved alms-giving (and who) had much money. He used to serve the patriarch and to fast with him and to breakfast with him on bread, salt, boiled beans and such like things. That chief used not to eat anything of what was brought to him from his house, and he remained with him (Khaêl) in the prison for a year. The prison was very full, and after the expiration of a year, the patriarch gave to the jailer something so that he might make for him a latrine of bricks (ⲧⲱⲃⲓ) and mud two cubits long by two cubits (wide), that he (Khaêl) should not have to make water before those who were imprisoned (with him), since he thought that the duration of his imprisonment would last till the day of his death. On the day on which the building of the latrine was completed, God caused him to be released.

Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn had * two secretaries (who were) brothers, one of the two of them was called Bessus (Basûs) and the other, Abraham (Abrââm), sons of Moses (Mûsâ). He loved them both, and they frequently besought him to make them surety for him (Khaêl), that they might take him from the prison to their dwelling-place, but he did not do (so).

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Aḥmad ibn al-Madhirânî, wazîr of Ibn Ṭûlûn had a secretary called John (Yûʿannis). This secretary asked his friend the wazîr to ask the amîr for the patriarch. Then he went to the mother of Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn who was a woman pious in her religion (and) with knowledge of it, and

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(1) Cf. *Matt.* 6, 19*. — (2) Cf. *Matt.* 6, 4*. — (3) *Lit.* between thy hands.

and took the oblation (δῶρον) which had been borne into it, and he broke it and threw it down and came out in anger. This was grievous to the father, the patriarch, and to all who were present. Then they took another oblation (δῶρον) and bore it into the sanctuary (haikal) and completed the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) and gave the Communion to the people. When the morrow came, the father, the patriarch, took his seat and the bishops assembled with him, and they excommunicated that bishop and consecrated another. When he (the first bishop) learned of this, Satan (aš-Šaiṭân) entered him and wrath took possession of him. Then he went to the amîr, the mutawallî, at Fustât Miṣr[1] (appointed) by the Calif (Khalîfah), who was Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn[2] the representative of the Calif (Khalîfah) at Baghdâd. He (Ibn Ṭûlûn) loved to amass money, so he (the bishop) complained to him about the patriarch and incited him against him (Khaêl), and said to him : "He (Khaêl) has much money". Ibn Ṭûlûn was occupied with recruiting soldiers for Syria (aš-Šâm), and he rejoiced at the words of the bishop that he might take from the patriarch what he could spend on the soldiers. Then he sent to summon the father, the patriarch, and he addressed him, saying : "Thou knowest what we have need of in the way of money for taking it to the Calif (Khalîfah) at Baghdâd, since he is the possessor of this land, especially for the debts which he has on account of the war. Ye, O chiefs of the Christians (Naṣârâ) are in peace and ye have no need of gold or silver, but only of bread to eat and a garment to wear. I have learned, indeed, that thou hast much money and innumerable vessels and gold and silver and brocade and (all) kinds of silk belonging to the churches. I love thee and respect thine old age, and I have summoned thee not unjustly and not with force, since it is necessary that thou shouldst be honoured and not despised. Give me what thou hast to take to the Calif (Khalîfah) and thou shalt find grace with him and with me". Then the patriarch kept silent and did not know what to answer him. Then he said to him (Ibn Ṭûlûn) quietly and with humility : "There is no injustice in your kingdom and ye are a people who know truth, but I am a feeble man (and) I do not possess either gold or silver

[1] Amélineau, p. 538. — [2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyîl) the patriarch, and he (is) the fifty-sixth of (their) number.

When Šenouti (Sânûtîûs), the patriarch who built the sanctuary (haikal) of my lord Mark (Mârî Markuṣ) at Alexandria, died—this sanctuary (haikal) remained for one hundred and fifteen years—Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyîl) was consecrated after him. He had three beautiful qualities [1] which resembled gold molten in the fire, on account of the trials which he suffered and underwent. There was an evil bishop of the see of Sakhâ [2], and there was among (the villages) of his see the village known as Dinûšir [3]. There was in it a church under the name of Ptolomaeus (Ṭulmâûs) which required to be consecrated [4]. The chiefs of the commune (naḥiyah) assembled with the father, the patriarch Abba Khaêl (Anbâ Khâyîl), and the fathers, the bishops, who were present with him for the consecration, and they asked them to come to the church, in order that they might receive their blessing. They came together and a great multitude assembled, and the time of the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) arrived. The said bishop of Sakhâ [2] was absent from the church, being occupied with preparing food for them. The day was ending * and the time for the Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) passed. Then he (Khaêl) sent for the bishop, but he did not come, because he was occupied with what we have mentioned. Then the bishops and the congregation asked the father, the patriarch, to bear the oblation (ḳurbân) into the sanctuary (haikal), so that the priests might begin (to read) the lessons from the books and their interpretation in a quiet and slow manner, till the bishop should come. He (Khaêl) did that, and after this the bishop came and found that they had begun before his arrival. Then he became angry and said to the patriarch in wrath : "Who made thee do this in my see without my order or presence?" Then he went up to the sanctuary (haikal)

*fol. 134 r°

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[1] These qualities are not stated.

[2] Amélineau, p. 410.

[3] Amélineau, p. 143.

[4] For particulars about this church, cf. *H. P. E. C.*, vol. II, Part I, pp. 17-18.

THE TWENTY-THIRD BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

The virtuous father Abba Michael (Anbâ Mîkhâyîl), bishop of the city of Tinnîs [1], said : "It is requisite, O my beloved, out of Christian love, that we should set down in writing what has not yet been recorded of what happened in the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Church of which these pastors were witnesses and with which they were acquainted in every generation—who were ministers of the word [2]. I besought God—praised be He—to assist my feebleness, I the wretched (one), the sinner, to begin to cause my faulty tongue to be (as) the pen of a swift-writing (scribe) [3], in order that it might move through the gift of the Holy Spirit, so that I might write what I heard and know from those who are trustworthy, whose words may be accepted; and we follow the path of those who went before us, who received the grace, and since it came into my mind to achieve this matter, I imitated the woman (who was) a widow, who cast into the treasury the two little mites, for she had nothing more besides them [4], and the Lord, the Scrutineer of hearts, accepted them from her. I found what the biographies contained which had been set forth by the saintly fathers through the power of the Holy Spirit, which was adopted by the Church from the time of the saintly Father, the Evangelist, my lord Mark (Mârî Marḳuṣ), the pure virgin, the martyr, down to the time of the father Abba Senouti (Anbâ Sânûtîûs) who is the fifty-fifth, who was consecrated patriarch after Abba Cosmas (Anbâ Ḳusmâ). This is the father Šenouti (Sânûtîûs) who experienced great afflictions according to what his biography contains. After him, down to the time of Abba Šenouti (Anbâ Sânûtîûs) the sixty-fifth, who ordained me, I the unworthy priest, nothing was written of the biographies. Then I, the wretched (one), Michael (Mîkhâyîl), wrote this with God's help to me—praised be He!

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(1) AMÉLINEAU, p. 507.

(2) *Lk.* 1, 2.

(3) Cf. *Ps.* 44, 2. Bohairic version has ⲡⲗⲁⲥ ⲟⲩⲕⲁϣⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲥⲁϧ ⲉϥϣⲉⲡϣⲱⲡ ⲛ̀ⲥϧⲁⲓ.

(4) Cf. *Lk.* 21, 2*.

[IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER AND OF THE SON AND OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, ONE GOD. TO HIM (BE) PERPETUAL GLORY FOR EVER. AMEN.] [1]

*We begin with the help of God and in the excellence of His assistance to copy out the third part of the biographies of the fathers, the patriarchs, the virtuous and pure (ones), successors of the father, the preacher, my lord Mark (Mârî Markuṣ), the Evangelist. May his prayers and their prayers protect us. Amen.

*fol. 133 v°

They are the patriarchs of the Copts (al-Kibṭ) in the land of Miṣr [2], the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faithful, who strove and patiently endured every suffering and toil and hardship and pain on the part of those who waged open warfare and of heretics (αἱρετικός) and of the enemies of the Church. This did not turn them away from the love of Christ their Lord and from the good confession and acknowledgment of the Holy Faith and from setting up the beacon of religion, but they persevered in the Orthodox Faith which they had inherited from their saintly fathers, which had come down to them from the Fathers, the Apostles (al-Ḥuwâriyûn), the Disciples of the Lord Christ, who saw (Him) and beheld (Him), and who wrought miracles even as their Lord had wrought (them) and had given to them power to do, and to resist kings and authorities through the strengthening of the Holy Spirit Who speaks by their tongues, even as the Lord Christ promised to them. To Him be glory for ever. Amen.

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[1] This is found only in Ms. A.

[2] Egypt. Fol. 133 v° is covered by partly transparent paper, and the text is written on an unnumbered folio by the hand of the late Markus Simaika Pasha. The above translation, however, is from the original text which is clearly visible, when an electric lamp is held behind the folio.



and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God, to Him (be) glory. The book of the biographies of the fathers, the patriarchs — God grant to us the acceptation of their prayers. Amen — the successors of the father, the Evangelist, my lord (Mârî) Mark (Markus) the Evangelist, the preacher of the Holy Gospel and glad tidings of the Lord Christ in the great city of Alexandria and in the land (κλίμα) of Egypt (Miṣr), Ethiopia (Habašah), Nubia (Nûbiyah) and the Pentapolis (the Five Cities in the West) which is Africa (Afrîḳiyah) and its district."

This MS. has the following colophon (folio 204 verso) : "We have informed you, O brethren, and may God enlighten your minds and your hearts to understand what we read in the way of the mysteries of His holy books and His pure law and His astounding miracles and His wonders manifested in His Saints, as saith the prophet David (Dâwûd) in the psalm fifteen [1] : "He hath manifested His miracles to His Saints in His land, and hath placed (in them) all His delight", to Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen. This blessed book was completed on Thursday the twenty-ninth of Baû'ûnah (in the year) 1408 of the Pure Martyrs (= A.D. 1692) may their intercessions (be) with us. Amen."

[1] Ps. 15, v. 3.

Abba (Anbâ) Peter (Buṭrus), the one hundred and ninth patriarch in the number of the fathers, the patriarchs, may God the Exalted cause him to be chief over us and (cause) his time (to be) a long, peaceful and quiet period, up to a great age and with a happy life. Amen."

Folios of the first part of Volume II contain 26 lines per folio. The latter part of this volume is in the handwriting of the late Markus Simaika Pasha who states on the first folio that he copied it from a manuscript in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate in the year 1898 [1]. When rebound, this volume had the edges of its folios cut down, and consequently, part of some marginal notes, and sometimes the text itself, is missing. Some folios have had stains on them which render the writing almost illegible.

The text of this MS. has been collated with that of MS. Hist. 3 in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, Alexandria, which is designated by the letter "A", and variant readings are recorded in the foot-notes. Lacunas and illegible words in MS. "M" have been completed from MS. "A".

MS. "A" is complete and in a very good condition. It contains 214 folios with from 21 to 27 lines per folio. The space occupied by the writing measures 22 × 14 cm. The script is in a regular hand and in black ink. The first six folios are written in a large naskh hand, and the rest of the MS. is in a small naskh hand. Titles are in red, and the material of the folios is linen paper of a yellowish colour. There are some restored folios, and on some folios there are marginal notes in red and black. This MS. has been recently bound. It ends with the biography of Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis) VI, the seventy-fourth patriarch, A.D. 1189-1216. This is mentioned in a note in folio 207 recto, which reads as follows : "The saintly father Abba (Anbâ) John (Yû'annis), the second patriarch of the second period. He is the seventy-fourth in the number of the fathers, the patriarchs."

This MS. begins (folio 2 recto) as follows : "In the name of the Father

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[1] This MS. is Hist. 15 in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, cf. *Catalogue of Coptic and Arabic MSS. etc.* by Markus Simaika Pasha and Yassa Abd al-Masīh, Cairo, 1942, vol. II, pages 309-310, No. 675.

PREFACE.

The present Part comprises the biographies of ten patriarchs, beginning with that of the fifty-sixth patriarch, Khaël III (Michael I) and ending with that of the sixty-fifth patriarch Šenouti II. These patriarchs occupied the See of Saint Mark from A. D. 880-1066.

The Arabic text has been taken from MS. Hist, 1 [1] in the Library of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, and is found in volume II of this MS. which is designated by the letter «M». This second volume begins at folio 133 verso which, however, is bound up in volume I. Folio 133 verso is covered with a transparent paper upon which the text beneath has been rewritten by the late Markus Simaika Pasha. The last folio of this second volume is numbered 282 verso. There are a number of restored folios in this second volume which date from the time of the patriarch Abba Peter VII, the 109th patriarch, A.D. 1809-1853, as is stated in the following note on folio 203 verso :

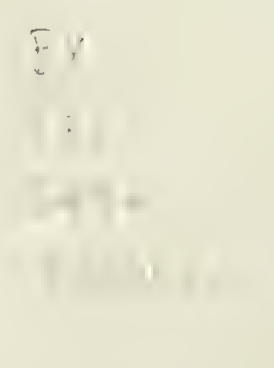
"Remember, O Lord, Thy miserable, humble and wretched servant Šenouti (Šanûdah), in name hegoumenos (ḳummuṣ), minister at the Monastery of the great and righteous Saint Abba (Anbâ) Paule (Bûlâ) the Great, the first anchorite, who restored these biographies. He entreats thereby pardon, remission and forgiveness of his sins through the intercessions of those whose names have been mentioned in them. The restoration of these (biographies) was (made) at that time in the flourishing Cell (*κελλίον*) [2] in the protected (city) [3] during the presidency of the lord, the venerable father, the fortunate and blessed (one), the chief of chiefs and lord of lords, the father honoured in every respect,

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[1] Cf. Volume II, Part I of the present work.

[2] *i. e.* the Patriarchate.

[3] *i. e.* Cairo.



LE CAIRE. — IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE.

PUBLICATIONS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE COPTE

TEXTES ET DOCUMENTS

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH,

KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

BY

SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ,

BISHOP OF AL-AŠMŪNIN

VOLUME II. PART II

KHAËL III – ŠENOUTI II

(A. D. 880 — 1066)

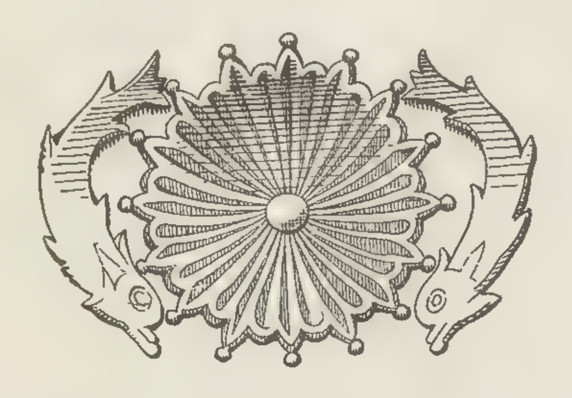
TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

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LE CAIRE

1948



HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS
OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH



translate him to the house of his honour and to the place of his rest, and to give him rest with the righteous, good and virtuous fathers. He (Shenouti) fell ill and he went to his rest on the twenty-fourth of Baramudah[1]. The duration of his occupation of the throne of Mark (al-Marḳuṣī) was twenty-one years and three months. The fathers, the bishops, and the priests and the Christian (Masīḥī) people assembled, and they grieved and wept bitterly [2] over him and prayed for him, as is requisite for such as he. They performed his funeral service as befitted his rank and his holiness, and they shrouded him and buried him.

His prayer [3] be with us! Amen. Glory be to God for ever (and) ever! [4]

Completed is the second part of the biographies of the fathers, the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) patriarchs of the Apostolic throne of Mark (al-Marḳuṣī). May their prayer and their blessings be with us! Amen. Glory be to God for ever (and) ever!

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[1] *i. e.* April 19th.

[2] *Lit.* a long weeping.

[3] MS. A reads: and his blessing be with us and embrace us till the last breath.

[4] MS. A reads: Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now, and for ever and at all times and unto the ages of ages and unto the enternity of eternities. Amen.

tormented the fathers, the monks, and became a stumbling-block for all the monks. News of him (the non-monk) reached the inhabitants of Alexandria through certain well-known Muslim (Muslimīn) merchants who used to pay visits to the monasteries to buy reed-mats (ḥuṣr) and other things; for they witnessed what this monk did to the monks, and they informed the walī of his (the non-monk's) oppression of them, and they gave evidence through (some) Muslim (Muslimīn) people. Thereupon, he (the walī) sent to the wālī of Maryūṭ [1] to seize him (the non-monk) and to bind him with iron together with his brother, the layman, and to send them both to him. When he (the wālī) had seized him and his brother, the layman, the walī looked at him and said to him : "Hast thou not heard of what I did to the non-deacon who did the same as thy deeds? Surely, now I will recompense thee and thy brother, the layman, according to what thou hast deserved". He (the walī) commanded that they should both be stretched out and beaten. The servants beat them both well with a scourge till they became as dead men, and they were dragged by their feet in the markets of the city, and they were both imprisoned and bound with iron. It was after one year during which they were bound with chains of iron, and after they had given all they possessed, and after their mother and their brothers had wandered in every place and begged what they had to pay for them till they were set free in a wretched state, that the aforesaid monk was attacked by elephantiasis, and his colour became black. All who heard (about this) marvelled and glorified the Lord Who avenged the father, the patriarch, on account of his great patience, and they said : "In truth, the miracles of God (are shewn forth) in His Saints", and they blessed the Lord our God.

When our father Sinuthius (Sānūtīūs), *i.e.* Shenouti (Šanūdah) the patriarch, a champion during all his days, blessed in his service, pleasing to God the Exalted, was perfected and had accomplished his course and his good fight and his constancy amid all adversities and trials through the temptations of Satan (Šaiṭān) and what befell him through the wālīs and tyrants, and the suffering of the difficult times which are not described, he became old and his strength weakened. The Lord wished to

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

saved, because, our help is from the Lord our God"[1]. Everyone came to him (Shenouti) and prostrated before him, as he merited.

When the Lord delivered our father (Shenouti) from that trial, he (Shenouti) stood before the Lord with abundant tears on account of the brother, the monk, through whom this affair had happened, and he said : "May the Lord forgive him". Then he (Shenouti) prayed and besought[2] on account of the other monk who was expelled from the monasteries, and he said of him[3] that he was a Muslim, in order to save him from the hands of the people and to encourage him to have patience and to create in him[4] the hope of the Orthodox Faith. The Lord, the Beneficent One, Who hears *the prayer of those who fear Him, heard the prayer of our father (Shenouti) the saint, and put[5] (the answer to his prayer) into the hearts of the wālīs, and, after they had examined him (the monk) and found that he was a Christian (Naṣrānī), they set him free from prison, (and) he obtained the crown of Confession[6], and he went to his monastery and none knew of him to the day of his death.

* fol. 133 r°

The archons (ἄρχων) asked the father (Shenouti), saying : "We beseech thee to grant to us a dispensation that we may exact the punishment of the Church from this non-monk". The father (Shenouti) did not allow them (to do this), but he said to them : "He is not the one who did this to me, but it is my sins. If this one deserves punishment, he will receive it for his base deed". Our father (Shenouti) said this by reason of his knowledge of what he (the non-monk) would receive in the way of trials; for this was his custom, since God was wont to reveal to him what should be, but he (Shenouti) would not reveal it to anyone of the people till the time it was accomplished, for he shunned the glory of men.

That non-monk fled from Cairo (Miṣr) for fear of the archons (ἄρχων) and of the wālīs too, because they sought him on account of the disclosure of the falsehood of all that he had said. Then he went down to Maryūṭ[7] to his people, but Satan (Šaiṭān) did not let him abandon his evil deeds. He (the non-monk) arose and entered the Holy Desert[8] and

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[1] Cf. *Ps.* CXXIII, 7*, 8*. — [2] The Arabic text here is not clear. — [3] Read, perhaps, 'of whom it was reported'. — [4] *Lit.* make with him. — [5] *Lit.* cast. — [6] *i. e.* of Confessors. — [7] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [8] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

was full of wrath against him (the deacon), and the father, the patriarch, was distressed on his account and knew that he (the deacon) would suffer chastisement. When they brought him (the deacon) in to him (the walī), he said to him : "If thou dost not give to me the money of the patriarch, I will punish thee severely" [1]. That brother repeated to him his [2] first speech and said to him : "I have already informed thee that my father has nothing, except what is in his baggage". He (the walī) commanded that he (the deacon) should be laid upon his belly and that his legs should be stretched out and that he should be beaten. Then he was beaten until the blood ran down from his body, When he (the walī) saw the blood, he commanded that they should cease to chastise him and that he should be sent back to the prison. When the father (Shenouti) saw what he (the deacon) had received in the way of punishment, he consoled him and said to him : "Rejoice, my beloved son, for thou wast worthy to be chastised for the sake of the Church, and I believe that thou wilt receive the reward from the Lord Christ". He (Shenouti) made the sign of the cross over his body, and immediately the pain left him, and there was no sign of the strokes at all. When those people who were inprisoned with him (Shenouti) in the prison witnessed (this), they marvelled and went forward to him and prostrated themselves before him and said : "This man is a saint of God". The father (Shenouti) and his sons remained in the prison thirty days, and the faithful were in sorrow and affliction at Fusṭaṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [3], while they (Shenouti and his sons) were among thieves and murderers.

The Lord perceived his (Shenouti's) patience and his humility and how he did not complain for a single day, but that he blessed God without ceasing or tiring and said : "I give thanks to Thee, O my Lord Jesus Christ, for Thou hast not done this, unless it were merited". God put into the heart of the amīr compassion, and the archons (ἄρχων) at Cairo (Miṣr) paid much money for him (Shenouti), and he released him (Shenouti) and his sons. He (Shenouti) gave thanks to the Lord Who was with him and Who had saved him from all his troubles, and he gave praise, as David (Dāwūd) the prophet saith : "The snare is broken, and we are

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[1] *Lit.* a severe punishment. — [2] *Lit.* the. — [3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

triarch which thou didst mention to me saying that, when thou camest here to me, thou wouldst bring with him (Shenouti) much money?" He (the non-monk) was afraid of him and he said to him : "The news had already reached him (Shenouti) before my arrival, and he gave his money to his sons and they kept it for him. They are here with him, namely, Simon (Simʿun), bishop of Banā [1], and Macarius (Maḳārah), the deacon, his brother". He said this in order to avert (the blame) from himself. When the secretary heard (this), he thought that it was correct, and he caused the two men to be brought. When our father (Shenouti) knew of this, he prayed for them that God might save them both. He (the secretary) ordered that they should be brought to him singly, in order that he might take them in their speech. Macarius (Maḳārah), the deacon, was brought to him first, and he said to him : "Where is the money of the patriarch? They have informed me that thou didst take his money and escape with it on another occasion. Go now and bring it to me, that I may set thee free without punishment". The brother said to him : "If I took on that occasion the money and escaped, lo, this time I have brought it with all that belongs to him (Shenouti) and what he possesses, and it is in his baggage for the Sulṭān to take it or to leave it". He (the secretary) listened to him and (then) he sent him to a place apart, and he ordered his brother, the bishop of Bana [1], to be brought. When the wālī saw him, he said to him : "Art thou Simon (Simʿān) the bishop of Bana [1]?" He said : "Yes, I am he". Then he said to him : "Where is the money of the patriarch which thou hast?" He said to him : "My father (Shenouti) had no money. All that he finds he spends on the churches and the destitute, and that which is in his baggage is what remains over to him out of his expenses". The two brothers said this before him with firmness, because the patriarch did not save up anything, but he spent all on the churches and the hidden [2]. When he (the wālī) saw that and understood the correctness of what they said and perceived the feebleness of the body of the father, the bishop, he commanded that he should be sent back to the prison, and he commanded his brother, the deacon, to be brought a second time. He (the wālī)

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84. — [2] Cf. p. 63, note 1.

(Shenouti) gave thanks to the Lord for all that, and he consoled his sons, lest they should be depressed, and he comforted them with the speech of Peter (Buṭrus) the Apostle (Sallīḥ) in the beginning of his Catholic (Καθολικόν) Epistle, when he saith : "What is your glory, if one of you sin, (and) they chastise you, and ye are patient? But do good, and if ye have suffered, be patient, (this) is grace from God. To this ye were called; because the Lord Jesus Christ suffered for us, and made that a reminder to follow His steps"[1]. "Now be patient and be comforted, O my blessed sons and my brethren in the Lord, for He will not abandon us, but He will be with us, as He was with our fathers, and He will save us in all our adversities". He (Shenouti) comforted them and strengthened their hearts by this speech and others, and they marvelled at his patience.

When it was morning, the secretary of the amir sent the people of the Muslims (Muslimin), who had borne false witness, to the prison to examine his (Shenouti's) baggage, and they thought that they would find in it much money, as the non-monk had stated. When they came and searched it, they did not find (anything), except what was of no value and not worth mentioning. When they saw that, they returned to the secretary and they said to him : "We did not find (anything), except what was of no value, and we were ashamed to bring it to thee, and it remains where it is". When he (the secretary) heard that too, he was filled with wrath against the non-monk. He (the secretary) denied to all the Christians (Naṣārā), the faithful, access to the father, the patriarch, who was in a narrow prison, and his (Shenouti's) sons grieved and were troubled. Some of them used to present themselves to receive his blessing, without speaking a single word to him for fear of the Sulṭān.

*fol. 132 v°

After (some) days, while he (Shenouti) was with his sons *in the prison, they asked of him money, in order that they might release him, but he had not anything to give to them. The amīr ordered to be brought the monk against whom he was filled with wrath when the secretary informed him about his affair. When he (the non-monk) came, he (the secretary) said to him : "Where is the money which thou hast taken from the pa-

[1] Cf. *I Peter* II, 20-21.

bought from their money fetters of iron and brought them to those who were in charge of them (the companions of Shenouti), and they besought them (the attendants) to loose their hands from behind them and to put [1] the fetters on their feet, and they gave to them gold and silver. This was in the district of Lower Egypt (Rīf)[2] on the shore of Atrib[3] and its surroundings. The non-monk said : "I do not do this", but he did not know that God had contemned him and had stirred up the heart of the secretary against him (the non-monk), while he was working with the amir, in order to destroy him. The Christians (Naṣārā) standing on the bank of the Nile (Baḥr) saw what they had done to them, and they besought God to cause the enemies of the Church to perish, and they wept and sighed.

Their (Shenouti's and his companions') arrival at thes hore of Cairo (Miṣr) was at the tenth hour of the night. When it was morning, soldiers of the guard were assigned to the father (Shenouti) by that secretary, because he (the non-monk) had shewn to him (the secretary) the boxes at night, as we mentioned at first. The monk presented himself to the secretary, as if he had not gone in to him at night nor met him at the time (when) he delivered to him the boxes. He (the non-monk) said before the people present : "I have brought the father, the patriarch, his sons, his companions and all that he possesses". The secretary ordered that monk to be imprisoned, and he also ordered that the ship and all that was in it should be guarded. He had determined to ask permission from the amīr for what he wished to do in the way of evil, since he (the non-monk) had not brought to him (the secretary) what it had been decided to bring. He was afraid on account of the boxes which he (the non-monk) had delivered to him at night, lest he (the non-monk) should present calamnious reports about him and say that they (the boxes) were full of gold and silver. Afterwards, he set him free from imprisonment and ordered the father, the patriarch, to be summoned. He (Shenouti) had not been able to ride a beast, but they had borne him on the head of a carrier to a narrow cell in the midst of thieves and murderers. He

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[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq. — [3] Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 66.

the impression that they were full of gold, silver and vessels. He did not know that the father, the patriarch, did not keep money or treasure at all, except the books of the Church and a vestment which he used to put on among the people and at the time of the Liturgy (Ḳuddās). It was of little value, since most of it was of wool, for he rarely wore silk, except on festival days. One dress sufficed him for years and years.

When this secretary examined those boxes and did not find anything in them, he thought that the monk had taken all that was in them in the way of money and vessels for himself, and had brought wood to him. He caused him (the non-monk) to be brought to him secretly and he said to him : "O man, I did not find in the boxes anything, and I have no doubt that thou hast taken what was in them". He (the non-monk) said to him : "In this manner I found them, and in this manner I brought them to thee, since I found with thee mercy and love". Immediately, God put [1] it into his (the secretary's) heart to hate this monk, and he became ill-disposed towards him, and he changed at once, and hardly had he (the non-monk) gone out from his presence *than he (the secretary) wished to kill him with his hand, but he feared (to do so) out of awe of the wālī.

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All the sons of the father (Shenouti) and his pages were in great straits on account of (their) humiliation, bonds, suffering, hunger, thirst and the lack of mercy of the attendants towards them, because they (the sons and the pages) did not take with them anything, and they despaired of their receiving (anything), especially, when they reached Cairo (Miṣr), because their case would pass out of their (the attendants') hands. For this reason, they (the attendants') had no mercy upon them.

When the brethren, the faithful, who had come to see them perceived him (Shenouti) and the condition in which they were when they reached them, (and) saw them in this predicament, they wept over them bitterly [2], especially, when they perceived the father, the patriarch, in such a state of illness, as he lay on his bed, without being able to rise, and without his sons being able to come to him, (and) their weeping increased, and they besought God to grant to them deliverance. The brethren went and

[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] *Lit.* a strong weeping.

get up, they did not approach him. They insulted that monk on account of his deed, so that one of the Turks (Atrāk) drew his sword and wished to kill him. This monk had no respect at all, but said : "Ye were sent with me to perform what the amīr commanded. If ye do not do what I have ordered you, then the amīr will requite you for your deeds". Then Satan (Šaiṭān) entered into them and urged them on till they lifted up the father, the patriarch, from his bed and carried him in their arms and his shoes [1] with him, until they brought him down to a ship which they had prepared for him in which to carry him to Cairo (Miṣr). Then this monk took these two brethren whom I have mentioned and he placed their hands behind them and bound them with a great rope, and likewise those who were found of his [2] pages and his [2] companions. He brought them down to the ship like thieves. He carried off all that he found in the Cell (κελλίον) of the father, the patriarch, in the way of clothes, vessels, holy books and other things.

This father (Shenouti) was very solicitous for the books of the Church, and he had a number of scribes who copied out for him books. None wrote for him, except people who were learned, good and experienced in the reading of books, besides their handwriting. Whenever a book was completed for him, he would rejoice at it, as he rejoiced at the building of a church. Then he would order that it should be embellished with gold and silver. That monk carried off most of the books and they became his own, since he had learned to read before that (time). It was his intention to gain a profit from the price (of the sale) of them, because Satan (Šaiṭān) had filled his heart with evil thoughts.

He set out for Cairo (Miṣr), and not one of his (Shenouti's) companions or his pages was allowed to approach him or to converse with him or to see him at all. Our father (Shenouti) did not know what had happened. Among all that this monk took from the Cell (κελλίον) of the patriarch there were boxes in some of which were books and in others clothes, and in some of them the food for the pages was put. When he (the non-monk) reached Cairo (Miṣr), he carried those boxes (with him), under

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, p. 819, رطاء, soulier.
[2] *Lit.* the.

to the Lord to take away this trial. Then he gave thanks to the Lord and said : "O my Lord, Jesus Christ, I know that the Church has not sinned". He said what Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle saith : "We are deprived of everything, but we are not lacking ; they cast us away, but we are not cast away ; they persecute us, but he leaves us not [1] ; they kill us, but we are not destroyed, at all times bearing [2] the death of Christ the Lord in our bodies, so that the life of Jesus Christ may be made manifest in our mortal bodies" [3]. He (Shenouti) was ready to give himself up in the place of the Holy Church of which he was in charge ; however, he was not able to move from his bed, but he hoped for God's help for himself. His spiritual sons. *Anbā Simon (Simūn), bishop of Banā [4], whom he (Shenouti) had consecrated bishop in those days, and his spiritual brother, the deacon Macarius (Maḳārah), (who) had been with them since his youth, received his blessing. He said to them : "O my sons, (though) I am not able to move from my bed, I am ready now for the command of the Lord. As for you, it is incumbent upon you to keep far from the face of Satan (Saiṭan), lest he do evil to you on account of me, (and) lest anyone think that you have what belongs to the Church". He (Shenouti) told them what had happened through the monk and of the arrival of the letters from the archons (ἄρχων) to him about this (matter.) As these two brethren were trustworthy, they said to him (Shenouti) : "This shall not be, O our saintly father, and we shall not leave thee, but we shall give ourselves up as a ransom for thee". While they two were speaking thus, lo, that non-monk called at the door : "Open !" He had already taken a decree (siğill) to the wālīs, so that they might strengthen him and help him in addition to what he had received of the Turks (Atrāk) who travelled with him. Then he took a soldier of the guards and went to the place where our father was. When he (Shenouti) opened the door for him, it was his intention to frighten him (Shenouti), so that he would die. When the Turks (Atrāk) and the soldiers of the guard who were with him and (who) went in to him (Shenouti) saw that he was so ill with the illness of gout (niḳris) and that he could by no means

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[1] Cf. the Coptic ṅϥϫⲱ ṁⲙⲟⲛ ṅⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲛ. — [2] على = the Coptic ϧⲁ. — [3] *II Corin.* IV, 8-9, 10*, 11*. — [4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

bly of people who were opposed to him, and he established evidence with them against him [1] (the monk) that he was a Muslim. He (the secretary) ordered that the vesture of monks should be taken off him, and that the clothes of Muslims (Muslimīn) should be put on him. He informed them (the assembly) of what he thought in the way of the evil which he wished to do to the patriarch. He caused him (the monk) to be brought to the assembly of the false witnesses, wearing the clothes which he (the secretary) had caused to be put on him. He promised him (the monk) to pay money to him, if he would renew (his profession of) Islām in the presence of [2] the witnesses also, but no one was able to turn him away from the Orthodox Faith; and whenever they did something to him which they wished, it did nothing but increase his faith, and he cried out and said : "I am a Christian (Naṣrānī), and my father and my mother and the inhabitants of my city know me and will testify for me to that (effect)". They buffeted him on his face and said to him : "Thou didst confess the religion of Islām before the witnesses who are present, then again thou didst make a denial". But the Lord was with him in all his adversity and saved him from all of it. The secretary did not pay heed to what he said. He obtained the written statements of the false witnesses whom he had set up for a witness against him (the monk) who did not renew Islām as they asked him to do. When he (the monk) did not obey them, they threw him into prison in [3] great strait. Immediately, he (the secretary) wrote letters to the place where the father, the patriarch, was, and he sent with them (the letters) some Turks (Atrak) who did not know how to speak the language of the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr), and with them that evil and calumnious monk, to take him (Shenouti) and to bring him to Cairo (Miṣr). Some of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christians (Naṣārā) heard of what had happened and of what they wished (to do) to the patriarch in the way of evil. They wrote to him (Shenouti) letters in which they informed him of what this non-monk and the people who were sent to him had done.

When he (Shenouti) knew of the letters which reached him and of what Satan (Šaiṭān) had raised up in the way of trials, he went out and cried

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[1] The MS. has 'them'. — [2] *Lit.* between the hands of. — [3] *Lit.* under.

Iscariot (Yahūdhā al-Iskharyūṭī) went with them to the monastery of Abu John (Yuḥannis)[1] in the Wādī Habīb[2]. When the fathers, the monks, who were there learned (of this), they were troubled, agitated and disquietened. Then he (the non-monk) entered into the cell (κελλίον) of one of the monks who feared God. There had been enmity between them since a long time. He (the non-monk) made both of them (the Turks) bind him (the monk) with iron (chains) and he entered with him to Cairo (Miṣr), and this one (the monk) did not know what was the cause of the affair for which he was taken. He used to say while on the way: "The Lord is my Helper; and I shall not be afraid. The Lord is the Defender of my life, and I shall not be troubled"[3]. When he (the non-monk) entered with that brother to Cairo (Miṣr), to the secretary of the amīr to whom the affair was referred, he said to him: "This is (one) of the Muslims (Muslimīn) whom the patriarch made Christians (Naṣarā)". He (the secretary) said to him: "What dost thou say, O (the)[4] monk, concerning what the monk has said about thee?" He answered and said: "I have been a Christian (Naṣranī) since my childhood, and my father, my mother and the inhabitants of my city know me. As regards the patriarch about whom he (the non-monk) speaks, if he be my father, then he is (also) the father of all the Christians (Naṣara) of whom I am one. This man (the secretary) I have not seen at any time[5], for I was brought up in the Desert[2]". This secretary being an evil man did not fear God, (but was) a lover of silver and gold, (being) very wicked. He caused to be brought to him people (who) witnessed falsely against him (the monk) that he had confessed that before that he had been a Muslim, and that the patriarch of the Christians (Naṣāra) had made him a Christian (Naṣrānī) a long time ago; the purpose of this being to impose a fine on the patriarch. He (the secretary) gathered against that monk an assem-

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[1] Probably the monastery of St. John the Little.

[2] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

[3] Cf. *Ps.* XXVI, 1.

[4] For this use of the definite article, see page 81, note 1.

[5] *Lit.* day.

When the monk heard of this, he completed his [1] calumnious reports, mentioning in them the patriarch and the monks. When he (the wālī) reached Maryūṭ [2], he stayed there a day and a night, in order that his troops might repose from the weariness of the way, before travelling to Cairo (Miṣr). The non-monk (now) found the means to present his calumnious reports on his (the wālī's) arrival at Maryūṭ [2], (and) he rejoiced exceedingly [3]. He said : "Certainly, God has made straight my way", and he entered the camp and spoke with him who brought him to the wālī, and he delivered to him (the wālī) the calumnious reports which he had filled with evil from his father, Satan (Šaiṭān). He (the walī) learned the contents of them (the calumnious reports), and he studied them and him (the non-monk) attentively [4] also, while he (the non-monk) stood before him [5], and he perceived that he (the non-monk) was clothed with the vesture of monks. He (the wālī) wished to do evil to him (the non-monk) and he said within himself : "If this (man) were not a renegade, he would not have presented calumnious reports about the father of the Christians (Naṣarā) and about the Desert [6], but this (man) is hostile and without understanding". The enemy, the hater of good (Satan), changed his (the walī's) mind, and put [7] it into his heart to accept the calumnious reports. Then he (the wālī) delivered the calumnious reports to his secretary and he said to him : "Investigate this matter diligently" [8]. The secretary did what the wālī commanded him. Satan (Šaiṭan) inflamed [9] his (the wālī's) heart against the patriarch, and he said to the monk : "In what place are these *whom the patriarch made Christians (Naṣarā) and consecrated them (as) monks?" He (the non-monk) answered and said to them : "In the Desert [10]. But, if thou wilt give me authority and men to strengthen me, then I will go to the Desert [10] and bring them to thee in Cairo (Miṣr)". Then he (the wālī) sent with them two horsemen of the Turks (Atrāk). All who saw them were terrified at the sight of them. He who took his portion with Judas

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[1] *Lit.* the. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [3] *Lit.* a great rejoicing. — [4] *Lit.* he distinguished them and distinguished him. — [5] *Lit.* between his hands. — [6] *i. e.* the Wādi'n-Naṭrūn. — [7] *Lit.* cast. — [8] *Lit.* with investigation. — [9] *Lit.* filled. — [10] *i. e.* the Wādi'n-Naṭrūn.

(Muslimīn) who are in it, whom he (Shenouti) has made monks, and they will say : It was the patriarch who made us (monks) and did this with us".

Then, when the non-monk who was not worthy of the name of Theodore (Tīdura), son of Eucharistos (Awḍuriṭus) had accepted these ideas from him (Satan) who had made him a vessel and who walked before him, the amīr received a letter from the king that he should enter into possession of all the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr), and that all the walīs should be under his hand, contrary to what was the custom; for there used not to be between the wālī of Alexandria and the walī of Cairo (Miṣr) either any transactions or conversations, but they used to exchange presents between each other, and they were at peace with one another all (their) days, and they were under one rule. When the decree (siğill) reached him (the wālī of Cairo) from the Khalīfah at Baghdād, he rejoiced exceedingly [1] and he ordered his soldiers to go out with him and to wear their finest clothes and their decorations and to accompany him to Alexandria. He gave to them, as a mark of generosity, on account of the joy which he experienced, what they would spend on their way. What he spent of his (money) on the notables of his government, and their number was one thousand and two hundred horsemen, besides their followers, was for each man of them (the price of) a couple of large and fine suits of clothes and a turban manufactured in al-Bašmūr [2], and five dīnārs. He prepared for them provisions and loaded them into ships on the river [3].

When he (the wālī of Cairo) reached Alexandria, he wished to appoint on his own account a wālī for it, as also (one) for the Pentapolis (al-Khams Mudun). He journeyed to Alexandria, as we have stated, and there was with him this troop, adorned with decorations, strong (and) resolute. When he (the walī of Cairo) saw it (Alexandria), he rejoiced at it and admired its houses, and he stayed in it (many) days and set aright its affairs and what was spoiled in it. He entered it (Alexandria) on the first of the month of Ramaḍān and stayed there till the feast. After that, he determined to return to Cairo (Miṣr).

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[1] *Lit.* a great rejoicing. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 350. — [3] *i.e.* the Nile.

and then deliver thou to him the letters which thou hast, as thou desirest". He was not influenced by their speech and he did not agree with their opinion owing to the satanic (šaiṭaniyah) thoughts which had entered him. He spoke infamously with his satanic (šaiṭānī) tongue, but they did not reply to his speech with a single word, since they were anxious about the illness of the father, the patriarch.

He (the monk) came out from their presence and he was filled with satanic (šaiṭaniyah) thoughts. His breast grew hot and his heart was enflamed and his eyes became dark to good thoughts, even as David (Dâwud) the prophet saith : "They have all turned aside, they are become worthless, there is none that doeth good, not one. Their throats are open sepulchres, their tongues are deceitful; the poison of vipers is under their lips : *whose mouths are full of cursing and bitterness, and their feet are swift to shed blood, and the place of peace they have not known, and the fear of God is not before them" [1]. He (the monk) went out from their presence and departed to Maryuṭ [2], the village in which he was born and to its inhabitants dwelling there. He remained there for some days reflecting on what he wished to do in the way of trials to our father, the patriarch. The first evil which he did, which his father Satan (Šaiṭān) arranged for him, was that he used to go to wālī after wālī and inform them that he wished to go to Cairo (Miṣr) and to say to them : "There is in the provinces of the patriarch money, cattle, sheep and properties (*οὐσία*) and other things besides; keep them until a letter from the wālī of Cairo (Miṣr) reaches thee". When he (the monk) reached Cairo (Miṣr), he wrote letters to the walī and delivered them to him, and in them he said : "What I have submitted to thee, O Amīr, is that thy rule is over all the land (*χώρα*) of Egypt (Miṣr), and all who hear of thy rule fear it, except the patriarch who resides in Alexandria, and he does deeds which anger God, in that he [3] bewitches certain people of the Muslims (Muslimīn) that he may make them enter into the Desert [4] and baptize them and settle them in his religion. If the amīr will strengthen me, then I will go to the Desert [4] and bring out certain of the Muslims

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[1] *Ps.* XIII, 3, and *Rom.* III, 12-18. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [3] *Lit.* that one. — [4] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

that he (Shenouti) should ordain me a deacon". He arose and came to Fusṭaṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [1] and he met some of the Christian (Naṣārā) secretaries who did not know of the blameworthiness of his manner of life, and he made an earnest request to them [2]. On account of the abundance of their faith in the monks, they wrote for him a letter to the father, the patriarch, concerning what he requested of them. Our father (Shenouti) was residing in the province of the east [3], and he was suffering from gout (niḳris) which was increasing. When this monk reached the door of the patriarch, it was at the ninth hour of the day, and one of his sons came out, being sad on account of the severity of his (Shenouti's) illness, and weeping on account of what he (Shenouti) endured through that. He (the monk) said to him : "I wish to meet our father, the patriarch, since I have letters from the secretaries, the archons (ἄρχων) in Cairo (Miṣr) and I desire to make known to him their (the letters') contents". They said to him : "O our brother monk, hast thou not heard of the state in which we are? He (Shenouti) has been ill since a long time with gout (niḳris) and no one is able to converse with him, and he (Shenouti) does not speak a word to anyone on account of the severity of the illness. But inform us of thy request on account of which thou hast come and what thou desirest, or else wait, (and) perhaps, God the Merciful One will grant to him (Shenouti) health, (and) thou mayest meet him, and he will give thee an answer concerning thy letters". When the [non-] monk heard this from the sons of the Cell (κελλίον) [4], an evil (look) appeared on his face and he assumed a fierce expression like that of Satan (Šaiṭān), and he said to them : "It is the secretaries of Cairo (Miṣr) who have written (the letters) for me and I wish to accomplish that for which I have come. It is you, O people, who prevent me from meeting him (Shenouti) and say that he is ill. If this is so, then I shall go and do what I wish in the way of evil". When he said this in fury, the brethren said to him : "Lo, we see that thou speakest with the speech of the mighty. We also, [like thee,] presented ourselves, but we did not find a means to meet him (Shenouti). But stay here to-day, to-morrow we will enter with thee to him (Shenouti),

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538. — [2] *Lit.* asked them a great asking. — [3] *i. e.* aš-Šarḳiyah. — [4] *i. e.* the Patriarchate.

was a monk from the monastery of Abu John (Yuḥannis)[1] in the Wādī Habīb[2], whose evil doing from his youth (up) in the monasteries was manifest to him (Satan). His family (γένος) was of Maryuṭ[3]. He was known for slandering and lying, and there was no mercy in him, as saith Paul (Bulus) the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans (Ρωμαῖος) : "Even as they did not grieve and make God their guardian, the Lord gave them up to the desires of their souls (and) their hearts[4] hardened to do what should not be done, iniquity, wickedness, deceit, envy, subtlety, of evil (being) evil-doers (and) maligners"[5].

This monk was a new dwelling-place for Satan (Šaiṭān). He used to make a parade of religion at the beginning of his work, and Satan (Šaiṭan) used to say to him : "O brother, behold, thou hast put on this skhēma (σχῆμα), and thou must not do these deeds, but it behoves thee to desist from these base deeds and to go to the father, the patriarch, that he may ordain thee a deacon, so that thou mayest be perfect, and become (as one) of the holy monks. When he (Satan) had put[6] this thought into his (the monk's) heart, he (the monk) said within himself : "This is a good thought". He did not consult any of the fathers, in order that he might guide him along the right path. This he used to do all his days, and he used to spurn the counsel of the fathers on account of the lack of his religion and to persevere in what Satan (Šaiṭān) stored up in his heart in the way of bad thoughts. He rose up from the desert, the place of solitude and devotion, and he went down to Lower Egypt (Rif)[7], the place of trouble and adultery. He said : "The patriarch knows that my deeds are base from my childhood up, and if I were to go to him, he would not perform for me my desire, but I shall[8] go to certain of the archons (ἄρχων) in Cairo (Miṣr), and ask them to write for me a letter

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[1] *i. e.* probably the monastery of John the Little.

[2] Cf. p. [1], note 2.

[3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[4] Translates the Coptic ⲍⲏⲧ in the expression ⲉⲟⲩⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̀ⲁⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲟⲥ.

[5] Cf. *Rom.* I, 28-30*, a very corrupt rendering of the Boḥairic text.

[6] *Lit.* cast.

[7] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, p. 101.

[8] Reading according to MS. A.

in need of something to put on till he had washed his clothes from them (the sores), since they did not heal and did not respond to treatment. When he had endured affliction, shame and humiliation, he went to the nāḥiyah in which he used to dwell (which was) near Ṣa [1]. He took his wife and his children and returned to the country in which he was born (which was) in the districts of al-Bašmūr [2], that is (to say) al-Bağūm [3], and he dwelt in it. When that (the news) reached our father (Shenouti), he thanked God and said, as saith David (Dawūd) the prophet : "Blessed be the Lord Who hath not turned away my prayer, nor His mercy from me" [4]. After that, God dispersed the scandals and those who worked iniquity, and there was great peace in the Church and in the Holy Desert [5]. Our father (Shenouti) was ceaseless in prayer and supplication to God — praised and exalted be He! — that He might strengthen him in what he endured from the wālīs of iniquity, since it was an evil time with an unjust sulṭān who was filled with as much evil as the deeds of the inhabitants of that land.

Now we will recount a little of what befell the father, Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), and how, when peace came upon the Church and his soul, and the souls of the Christian (Masīḥī) people became good, he used to continue in prayer and supplication to God at all times and to say : "I beseech Thee, O my Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, to preserve Thy people from trials. As for myself, I merit what has befallen me in the way of trials, on account of my sins; but for the sake of Thy mercy, preserve Thy people and the sheep of Thy flock and the pure Church which Thou hast purchased with Thy pure Blood, that this people may be in tranquillity and peace without disquietude". He was continuing in thanksgiving and prayer to God in this wise without relaxing night and day.

The hater of good, Satan (Šaiṭān), did not abide patiently. When he saw that God had dispersed the people who were on his side, who were a vessel for him through which to speak, he was troubled and wished to raise up trials and sorrows for the Church, that he might behold (them) and rejoice. *Then he set a snare and entered into a new vessel which

*fol. 130 r°

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 405. — [2] Id., p. 350. — [3] Cf. *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, p. 114, note 2. — [4] *Ps.* LXV, 20. — [5] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

formed on its ceilings from the foul air, that it might bring about his death. When, on account of this, he (the non-deacon) endured pain, he would cry out and say to him (the man) : "Thou hast killed me, O (*lit.* this)[1] man!" None of the people or of those who had charge of the prison hearkened to him, since they desired his death. He (the non-deacon) knew that God has taken vengeance on him on account of what he had done to our father, the patriarch and to others of the pious faithful.

Observe, O my faithful brethren, (how) one of the people who came from Alexandria to Cairo (Miṣr) presented himself before our father, the patriarch, and made known to him what chastisement this deacon endured, thinking that he (Shenouti) would rejoice at this, but he (Shenouti) said : "May God forgive him his transgressions which have brought him into these trials!" Those who were present marvelled at this and praised God, saying : "We have never seen such a (man) as this"[2]. He (Shenouti) besought God to deliver him (the non-deacon) from this anguish which had come upon him, lest his soul should perish before his repentance, because, as saith Isaiah (Išaʿya)[3] the prophet : "God desireth not the death of the sinner, so that he may repent"[4]. When his (the non-deacon's) imprisonment had lasted for a long time, and as he had nothing that the wālī could take from him, he (the wālī) caused him to be brought, to him, and he said to him : "Lo, I shall set thee free, but when I hear about thee that thou hast harmed a merchant or other person, then thou shalt not escape from my hand again".

The wounds which he (the non-deacon) had received through the strokes of the scourge and the suffering caused to them by that man who was with him in the prison through fear of him, festered upon him till the time of his death. On account of them (the sores) every day he was

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[1] In Coptic the vocative is expressed by simply adding the definite article to the substantive, but in Boḥairic texts the use of the demonstrative pronoun occasionally occurs, as the result of a confusion between the Ṣaʿīdic definite article and the Boḥairic demonstrative pronoun, and this explains the use here of the Arabic هذا.

[2] Cf. *Mark*, II, 11*.

[3] *Read* Ezechiel.

[4] Cf. *Ez.* XXXIII, 11*.

thought that he (the wālī) wished to have money from him,—"lest (if), he die, the money be lost". But he said to them : "The matter is not as you suppose. Do what I have commanded you". So they scourged him with fifty strokes with bulls' pizzles. He was also at the point of death, and no movement remained in him. After this, he (the wālī) commanded them to carry him off to the prison and to keep him in great straits by means of iron and wood and not to feed him with food, except with a small quantity which would be insufficient for him, and this was a small quantity for two days or less.

When he (the non-deacon) was imprisoned, he ardently desired death, on account of the severity of the anguish, punishment and humiliation which he endured, so that, when the people who are without mercy upon anyone (namely), those who guard the prison, heard what he had done, they wished to accomplish the murder of him at night, but they were afraid of the people who were in the prison, lest they (the prisoners) should calumniate them. They wished (to do) that by all means (as) they sought thereby the mercy of God. When the people saw that none of them desired him (the non-deacon) to live or to remain (among them), even the people who were with him in the prison cursed him and desired that God might remove him from them* by death, lest he should be delivered, and, having come out, falsely accuse them to the walīs, since they had acknowledged before him their crimes and what they had committed and the cause for which they were imprisoned.

* fol. 129 v°

There was with them a man who had found in the earth a deposit of value and for this he was imprisoned, that he might reveal it. On account of his love of the world he did not wish to reveal it, and for this reason he was imprisoned. He (the man) charged him (the non-deacon), when he entered the prison, to inform his (the man's) children of the place in which was the deposit, lest he (the man) should die in the prison and what he possessed should be lost. When this man learned that he (the non-deacon) was the man who presented calumnious reports to the wālīs, he repented of what he had said to him, and he desired to kill him at night, but he had not the wherewith to kill him. So he used to come to his wounds which were caused by the strokes of the scourge and to spread upon them (the wounds) the filth of the prison and the grime which

into prison". When he (the non-deacon) saw from the great hostility which was shewn to him by all the people, not by the Christians (Naṣārà) alone, but by the whole nation, that all the people detested him and that the wālī did not entertain kindness towards him. he hid his face in his turban with shame.

When they arrived with him (the non-deacon) at the Government House, he (the walī) caused him (the non-deacon) to be brought before him [1] and he said to him : "Art thou the man concerning whom this great evil is related?" That renegade thought that if he were to speak with the wālī about what he had done to the patriarch, he (the wālī) would dismiss him and thank him for his deed. He said : "Yes, I am that (man) who delivered the patriarch to the wālī of Cairo (Miṣr) and obtained from him much money, and his decrees (siğillāt) are confirmed by my hand, and no one who is on his side will do harm to me". The wālī said : "As thou art the person who has done this thing of which news has reached me, it is now evident to me that thou art of the party of cursed Satan (Šaiṭān). Lo, thou hast [2] an impudent face. Since thou didst neither fear God nor respect thy father, the patriarch, when thou didst this deed to him, according to my opinion, it is all true that was said about thee by the merchants and the inhabitants of the districts in which thou wast, and what thou dost with those who are weak, because thou hast said with thy tongue that thou hast presented calumnious reports about the patriarch. But now I shall reward thee according to thy deed, for God hath placed [3] thee in my hands". He (the walī) commanded immediately that he (the non-deacon) should be cast upon the ground, and he caused to be brought to him strong and violent young men who had no mercy on God's creatures. In their hands were sticks like the beams of roofs, and he commanded that he (the non-deacon) should be beaten with those beams. When the soldiers said that he was at the point of death, he (the wālī) commanded them not to strike him after that with the beams, but to seize him and to set him upright and to scourge him with a scourge of three hundred thongs. The soldiers said : "As soon as we begin to scourge him, he will die on the spot",—because they

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[1] *Lit.* between his hands. — [2] *Lit.* art clothed with. — [3] *Lit.* cast.

anyone of us who comes to these provinces and other parts by his tale-bearing to the wālī, with the intention to gain access to his heart, so that we are not able to get beyond him to these lands. Lo, the merchants, the inhabitants of the maritime lands, remain outside and they have refused to import their merchandise into this frontier city, because, if the merchandise were to be seen by this man who presents calumnious reports, he would lay information against them to the wālīs and say to them that if this merchandise were to go out from the lands, the lands would be weakened".

When the wālī learned of the behaviour of this evil man who presented calumnious reports, he ordered immediately that there should go twelve men of the cavalry who served before him [1] and sentinels [2]. These he chose from his companions, because he knew of their fierce strength, *and he ordered them to go to this man and to seize him well [3] and not to have mercy upon him. When they came to him and had seized him, they bound him with chains of iron on both his hands and feet and they made him ride on a vicious beast. For if the rider moved on this beast and it heard the sound of the iron (chains), then it was wont to take fright and to tremble and to throw him (the rider), and the iron (chains) would fall on him and crush him. The greater number of times, if he (the rider) did not fall from its back, it would turn its head round towards him and bite his legs with its mouth. He (the non-deacon) cried aloud, but he was not listened to. All who saw him rejoiced and prayed for the wālī who had seized him. They said : "God, Whose commandments thou didst not accept, hath brought thee, O man, into this great affliction. We beseech God not to deliver thee from this misfortune". His (the non-deacon's) face was impudent and he said : "I shall be delivered from these conditions, because I am a man who am a loyal counseller to the Sulṭān and he will not harm me, and I will reward every man of you according to the measure of his work". But he did not say with his tongue 'if God wills'. The people said : "Thou art worthy of much more than this, because thou didst deliver our father, Anbâ Shenouti (Shanūdah),

*fol. 129 r°

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[1] *Lit.* between his hands. — [2] قراغول from the Turkish word قره قول — [3] *Lit.* a violent seizing.

sion, and believes that through the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) he accomplishes his Christian (naṣrānī) duty, the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) increases the sins. But, if he believes that the Eucharist (Ḳurban) forgives sins, even as He said in His Holy Gospel : 'This is My Body, eat ye of it at all times for the forgiveness of your sins' [1], he receives the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) and It blots out his sin. But owing to the small degree of his understanding and the domination of evil (šaiṭānī) thoughts over him, he (the non-deacon) does not understand this''.

In spite of what we have mentioned of what the father (Shenouti) did for him (the non-deacon), he did not give up (his) evil (ways). When he went to the provinces in which he dwelt, namely, a nāḥiyah in the neighbourhood of Ṣá [2], he took counsel against the priests in the churches and did harm to them, and he sat in company with the wālīs. The greater part of his time he was assiduous in preparing calumnious reports about the people, especially the Christians (Naṣārā) and the priests among them, and the saying of David (Dāwūd) the prophet was fulfilled in him, when he saith : "He sitteth together with the rich to slay the innocent in secret" [3]. When his (harmful) works increased, and the merchants and those who possessed money and those who were rich among the inhabitants of the provinces became afraid of him (the non-deacon), some of the inhabitants of Alexandria assembled with the merchants of the maritime provinces who transacted business with them, and they complained one to another about the behaviour of this deacon.

There was in Alexandria a walī good and pious in his religion to whom came the inhabitants of Alexandria and the merchants whom we have mentioned, and they said : "This frontier city is not distinguished [4] nor is money got out of it, save from the merchants who visit it by sea and by land, because there is not a tax for it on the cultivation of the land or on anything else. We, the merchants of the land, are not able to come out from it (Alexandria) (to journey) to the maritime regions, because a man who presents calumnious reports lives (there), (and) does harm to

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[1] Cf. *Matt.* XXVI, 26*, 28*. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 405. — [3] *Ps.* IX, 29*. — [4] *Lit.* its dignity does not increase.

When our father (Shenouti) was delivered from captivity and God had brought to nought all that they had said to the wālī concerning him (Shenouti), that deacon came to him *and asked him in the guise (of one) of the faithful, saying to him : "I beseech thee, O my father, to forgive me, because my sin is very great, and I have done unto thee deeds for which I am not worthy that thou shouldst forgive me, for I know what evil I did and that I did not render thee any good (action)". In spite of this, he (Shenouti) said to him: "May the Lord forgive thee!" He (the non-deacon) then humbly asked him (Shenouti) to write for him a letter containing absolution, because he (the non-deacon) was not able to walk among the faithful or to enter any church, since, if the children of all the people, both the Muslims (Muslimīn) and the Christians (Naṣārā) saw him, they stoned him, saying : "This man is an evil man and one who presents calumnious reports". He was not able to walk among the people. Our blessed father, Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) commanded John (Yuḥanna), his secretary, to write for him a letter to all the faithful in which he said : "I have absolved through my mouth the ban on this deacon. Let none of the faithful hinder him from receiving the Eucharist (Ḳurbān)". When he had written the letter and sealed it with his seal, which is the sign of the Holy Cross, he rolled it up and delivered it to him (the non-deacon). When he (the non-deacon) left him (Shenouti), he (Shenouti) commanded a disciple of his, who had (charge of) the financial administration of the Cell (*κελλίον*)[1] to pay to him (the non-deacon) a sum of money with which to help him in what he wanted. He commanded also that he should receive one of the beasts which should be saddled. He ordered for him three suits from those which his pages used to wear and he dismissed him.

*fol. 128 v°

I, the wretched writer of this biography, said to him (Shenouti) : "O my father, how is it that thou didst do this, and he (the non-deacon) is unworthy of what thou didst for him in allowing him to receive the Eucharist (Ḳurban)?" He said to me : "My blessed son, dost thou not know that if the sinful man dares to receive the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) before he has acknowledged his sin before God and asked from Him pardon and remis-

[1] *i. e.* the Patriarchate.

for forty days, but God perceived his patience and the intensity of his fatigue and the infirmity which he endured which we have described. He (God) had compassion on him (Shenouti) and he put[1] it into the heart of the wālī to liberate him from prison, after he had demanded of him what he was unable to do, even to a small extent. He (Shenouti) was saved from his (the wālī's) hands (and), he wore the crown of victory and was blessed. He used to say : "I am not worthy to be tried, for my sins are great". The Christians (Naṣārá) experienced great joy at his (Shenouti's) deliverance.

When he (Shenouti) was delivered, he did not interdict that deacon, because God had already interdicted him from (performing the office of the) priesthood, for he had been clothed with the vesture of monks and had cast it away from him. He (Shenouti) caused him (the non-deacon) to come to him and he said to him : "May the Lord forgive thee!" As regards the fathers, the bishops, whom he (the non-deacon) had seized and whom he wished to bring to Cairo (Miṣr), when the news of the deliverance of the father, the patriarch, reached him (the non-deacon), while he was yet on the way, he (the non-deacon) released[2] them and gave them back their clothes and what was taken from them in the way of beasts, pages and furniture, except the gold or the silver, because he had given some of it to the men who were with him, and some of it he had spent on what he wanted, for he was very poor and very ragged, without money and without what he had inherited. The fathers, the bishops, rejoiced at their deliverance from his hands and they did not ask him about anything which happened to him on their account, for they thought that the news which reached them about the deliverance of the patriarch was without truth. The father (Shenouti) used to say to this deacon : "It is not thou who hast delivered me into the hands of the wālīs, but my sins which have caused me to be brought into trials". All who heard this speech of his said : "We have never seen anything like this".

We will recount now what befell the non-deacon, in order that on account of him God may be glorified by all who hear what befell him.

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[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] *Lit.* raised his hand from.

Christians (Naṣārā) and the Muslims (Muslimīn) heard (this) news about him. The wālī ordered that none of all the people should go in to him, except one disciple who should bring food for him at the time when it was necessary, and that it should not be allowed to speak with him, nor for him (Shenouti) to make any recommendation to him (the disciple) about what he wished. On the contrary, those who were in charge of the prison took from him (Shenouti) the food which the disciple brought, and they took from it what they wanted and gave to him what they wished from that which was left of it (the food). Of that which was brought to him he used to take a small quantity every three days and to give the rest to the people who were imprisoned with him. God, Who does not reject him who serves Him, put [1] it into the heart of the prisoners to love and to respect him. They used to minister to him as slaves (mamālīk) minister to their lords, and to carry him to the place in which he used to make water and to bring him back to his place with care. On account of the intensity of the anguish which he experienced, he used to give thanks to God and beseech Him to grant repose [2] to the bishops, lest they should endure what he endured, and that He should not bring them into that intense anguish; for the decree (siğill) which the wālī wrote for that non-deacon included (the order) to seize the bishops and to send them to Cairo (Miṣr).

When the father, the patriarch, was thrown into prison (the non-deacon), who had presented the calumnious reports returned and went out again to all the places of the land of Upper and Lower Egypt (Miṣr) and he seized a number of the bishops before his business was known. It happened, when he seized one of them, that he used to expose him publicly by removing from him (his) clothes and putting on him others. He did not allow him to wear any of his own clothes, except the hood (ḳalanṣūwah) which the monks wear, and he used to make them ride on beasts without saddles, and they were mocked before the inhabitants of the land. Some of them escaped and others fell into his hands but they won him over to them and (thus) escaped.

Our father Anbā Shenouti (Shanūdah) remained under this tribulation

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[1] *Lit.* cast. — [2] *i. e.* death.

he was summoned afterwards, he was not found. They knew not his place (even) to this day.

Satan (Šaiṭān) was troubled and his wrath increased and he went to a non-deacon in the districts of al-Bašmūr [1] who was clothed with the vesture of monks, but later had put off this vesture. He (Satan) filled his (the non-deacon's) heart with evil, and he thought to accomplish what the priest had said who had gone away. The deacon resembled the priest, and he who saw him said : "He is that priest who presented the calumnious reports". When he appeared before the walīs, they did not doubt that he was the priest. They said to him : "Where hast thou been during these days? Thou wast ordered to remain before the door till thou didst receive the answer [2] to what thou didst ask, in which is the signature of the sulṭān". From that hour an important decree (siğill) was written for him, and there went with him a number of cavalry of the army, and they came with him to the place in which our father, the saintly patriarch, was hidden. This affair happened before any of the people knew (of it), nor did any of the secretaries at the door (know about it), because he (the non-deacon) asked that the decree (siğill) should be written for him and should not be registered in the dīwāns for fear lest his affair should be attested and he should not attain that which he wanted. He (the non-deacon) seized him (Shenouti) and carried him to Cairo (Miṣr). When the archons (ἄρχων) and the people of Cairo (Miṣr) heard this news and that the patriarch had arrived in Cairo (Miṣr) under arrest, they were very sorrowful, and likewise they grieved also very much and were afraid of this deacon, and not one of them shewed himself.

The father (Shenouti) was suffering from strokes and gout (niḳris) which he had contracted. When the journey and the summons upset him, the trouble increased more. On his (Shenouti's) arrival, the wālī ordered that he should be thrown into prison together with (other) prisoners, thieves, murderers and malefactors. *He (Shenouti) was carried in a litter on the heads of four of his pages until he was thrown down in a narrow place, and he suffered great fatigue. All the people both the

*fol. 128 r°

[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 350. — [2] *Lit.* fulfilment.

say concerning Jacob (Ya'kub) the Christian (Naṣrānī) : "May the Lord forgive him and give rest to his soul!", so that all who heard him marvelled.

When the hater of good (Satan) saw that, he became impatient to arrange trials, and he raised up another trial and did evil which we shall mention, and concerning this Paul (Būluṣ) wrote in his Epistle about these trials : "Know ye that in the last days there shall be evil times. Men shall love themselves and they shall love silver, (being) proud, haughty, railers, disobedient to their parents, unthankful, impure, without compassion, inconstant, slanderers (šayātīn) [1], without self control, not accepting instruction, not loving good, audacious, stiff-necked, lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God" [2]. Satan (Šaiṭān) placed all these bad qualities in the people whom he appropriated to himself (as) vessels, and made them an instrument for himself, those whom we have mentioned before, and gave them power to present calumnious reports about the father, the patriarch. They were, as Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle saith : "Men corrupted in their hearts, reprobate concerning the Faith. But their work shall not be achieved" [3]. Among these there was a priest, a monk of the monastery of Enaton (al-Hanāṭūn) [4], who came into Cairo (Miṣr) and wrote calumnious reports about the patriarch, and delivered them to the wālīs. When Satan (Šaiṭān) saw him clothed thus, he put [5] it into the heart of the persons attached to that amīr, the walī himself, to take from him (the monk) the calumnious reports, and they entered with them to him. He (the wālī) commanded that he (the monk) should remain before the door until he (the wālī) had made enquiries about him. He (the monk) remained there for some days, but the Lord did not desire to drown him in the seas of sin. He (God) put [5] it into the hearts of the faithful to turn him away from his ignorance and to remove him from the doors of the wālīs, that he should not act presumptuously towards the father (Shenouti). He became ashamed by the great reproach (made) to him by those faithful. Then he departed, and (when)

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[1] = Greek διάβολοι. — [2] II *Tim.* III, 1-4. — [3] II *Tim.* III, 8*-9*. — [4] Situated nine miles from Alexandria. — [5] *Lit.* cast.

lawlessness, and they have destroyed the innocent with unjust words"[1].

Hearken, now, to this miracle, as the Master saith : "The gates of hell (Ǧaḥīm) shall not overcome it" [2]. The gates of hell (Ǧaḥīm) are the chiefs of wickedness, those who presented calumnious reports about the father (Shenouti) and the churches, (who) were not able, on account of (their) terror of the walī, to come before him (the walī). But one of his secretaries who was accessible to him (the wālī) wrote in his (the wālī's) stead to summon the father (Shenouti) and the bishops. After some days it was manifest to the wālī that that evil secretary who was occupied with those who had presented the calumnious reports had forged the letters without his knowledge [3]. He (the wālī) seized him (the secretary) in great wrath and took away from him all that he possessed and ordered that his beard should be shaved off and that he should be bound with iron (chains) and be kept in prison. When the corrupt ones saw that (secretary) in whom was their hope, they were confounded and the saying of Isaiah (Išaʿyā) the prophet was fulfilled in them : "And the sinners *and the transgressors of the law (νόμος) shall perish together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be confounded" [4]. *fol. 127 v°

After a little, God destroyed Jacob (Yaʿḳūb) the non-Christian (Naṣranī) and the Jew (Yahudi), his friend, and they both died an evil death, even as David (Dāwud) saith : "The fool and he that is without understanding shall perish together" [5]. All who witnessed the vengeance of the Lord on those who resist the Church marvelled and glorified God. When (the news of) the death of Jacob (Yaʿḳūb) reached our father (Shenouti) his heart grieved for his death before his repentance, and he wept over him, because it was requisite. The father (Shenouti) used to

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[1] Cf. *Is.* XXXII, 7*. The Arabic text موامرة الاشرار عر بالناموس سكروا فيه has been emended so as to read موامرة الاشرار غير الناموس شاروا فيه, and this would be a literal rendering of the Boḥairic ⲡⲥⲟϭⲛⲓ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̀ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥⲱϭⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ.

[2] *Matt.* XVI, 18*

[3] *Lit.* order.

[4] *Is.* I, 28.

[5] *Ps.* XLVIII, 10*.

his wickedness; but his wickedness doubled through the strength of Satan (Šaiṭān), so that he opened his mouth without fear of God and insulted the father, the patriarch, and uttered unseemly words. When the father (Shenouti) saw that he (Jacob) persevered in the work of Satan (Šaiṭān), the evil one, together with those of the disbelieving Jews (Yahūd) who gathered around him, the father, the patriarch, feared but little. He (Shenouti) was hidden in the provinces of the east, for fear of the wālī. When their [1] deed was accomplished, the father, the patriarch, and the fathers, the bishops, who were in the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) were summoned.

All whom the wālīs caught on the road they forced to pay money. The wālīs were from among the Ghuzz [2], and their appearance was terrible and they were hateful to the Christians (Naṣārā). They used to neigh after women like horses and to carry off the children of the people and violate them without fear. They plundered their (the Christians') cattle which they slaughtered and ate. The greater part of their food was the meat of horses, and they continued eating and drinking and fornicating. The merciful Lord perceived the evil of their deeds and put it into the heart of the wālī to punish them, so that on account of the terror which he inspired (in them) and their beholding him, as he slew their great ones and robbed them of their money, the fear of him was upon them; otherwise, they would have destroyed the people, for they performed reprehensible deeds which the biography is straitened to describe (on account of) its difficulty. The fathers, the bishops, through the intensity of (their) fear, used to put on the dress of laymen and to alter their clothes and to walk on foot without beasts, so that they might go whither they desired. The affairs of these (the Ghuzz) increased. The Lord had protected the father, the patriarch, from the machinations of those who presented calumnious reports about him, namely, Jacob (Yaʿḳūb) and the Jews (Yahūd), even as Isaiah (Išaʿyā) the prophet saith : "For the counsel of the wicked hath counselled

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[1] *i. e.* the šaikh and his followers.

[2] A Turkish tribe.

This father Shenouti (Šanūdah) was patient in all that befell him in the way of adversities and trials, that he might obtain the wage of his conscience, according to the saying of Paul (Buluṣ) : "For (my) power is made perfect in weakness" (1). He (Shenouti) fell sick of gout (an-nikris), yet (his) patience increased, and he remembered the saying of Paul (Būluṣ) : "For when I am weak then am I strong" (2). *The father, the patriarch, became weak and he was attacked by pains in both his hands and his feet. He was like this during the most of his time, so that he was not able to perform the Liturgy (ḳuddās), and he was not present (at it) on feast days on account of the severity of (his) illness. The hater of good (Satan) did not cease from setting snares and helping those who set them.

*fol. 127 r°

It happened, after the completion of the fortress, that Satan (Šaiṭān) did not abide patiently, but prepared for himself a vessel through which to speak, namely, a šaikh, a non-Christian (Naṣrānī), who does not deserve to be called Jacob (Yaʿḳūb). He became a friend of certain of the Jews (Yahud), and he went to the brave wālī with letters which he had written concerning the father, the patriarch, and the churches, which (the letters) were full of calumnies and lies. These were delivered to certain people who had access to the wālī, in order that he might give them the authority to exact from him (Shenouti) what they had mentioned in these letters, each year one hundred thousand dīnārs. This non-Christian (Naṣrānī) and the Jews (Yahūd) his friends did not cease from continuing this (the calumnies).

When this state of affairs reached the father, the patriarch, he grieved for this šaikh Jacob (Yaʿḳūb), and he besought the Lord to save him, lest he should be submerged in the seas of his iniquities, and he said : "O Lord, let not Satan (Šaiṭān) destroy him, but deliver him from him (Satan), that he may know Thy righteousness". He used to write to the Egyptian (Miṣriyyīn) archons (*ἄρχων*) that they should restrain him (Jacob) and bring him back (to his duty). He sent to those who were on his side money to maintain his position, so that he might abstain from

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(1) II *Cor.* XII, 9*. — (2) II *Cor.* XII, 10*.

Egypt (Miṣr) to honour him and to respect him and to exalt him above every one in Egypt (Miṣr) at that time and before it.

A man, a saintly monk, went to the city of the king and he asked (certain) Christian (Naṣārā) people who were good resourceful men to help him in what he desired (to do). He besought the king on account of the poll-tax and the taxation of the monks. He (the king) performed this (the desire of the monk) for him through the grace of God, and he wrote a decree (siǧill) for him, and (when) it reached Egypt (Miṣr), none of the monks was required (to pay) the tax. They (the authorities) allowed the Christians (Naṣārā) to celebrate their feasts openly and publicly. The wālī rejoiced exceedingly at the decree (siǧill), on account of his goodness and his kindness towards the monks. He executed immediately the order of the king. He produced evidence before every one from the Ḳuran that he who renounces the world and dwells among the mountains must not be forced (to pay) the tax and the poll-tax. He, for his part, wrote a decree (siǧill) confirming the position of the monks.

The joy of the father, the patriarch, was great by reason of this grace, on account of his care for the affairs of the monasteries and the monks and the affairs of the churches. In his great care for the Holy Desert [1], he, the father, the patriarch, raised up at the church of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) an excellent memorial, for, remembering the deed of the Lord with regard to the monks and the church, he resolved to build a fortified wall round the Catholic (*καθολική*) church [2]. He did this that it might become a cave and a fortress after [3] the Lord Christ Who is irresistible. He collected much stone and carried on the work assiduously until it was finished with towers. He made in it dwelling-places and elevated places in the shortest space of time, for he was labouring with the workmen as one of them, and as he had been wont to work when he was steward (*οἰκονόμος*) of the holy monastery [4], (and) so he did in the completion of this fortress.

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[1] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

[2] *i. e.* the principal church.

[3] *i. e.* Jesus Christ being the first fortress.

[4] *i. e.* the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

patriarch, night and day, and they did not cease from giving thanks to God for His abundant grace (which He bestowed) upon them. They (the monks) returned to the monasteries in haste with joyful hearts (to) the place of the spiritual repasts. They gave thanks to God that the True Shepherd, Christ, had gathered them together and had delivered them from the hands of the Devil (Iblīs), the wolf, and that God had sent down his wrath upon this tyrant. When he (Ibn al-Mudabbir) was dismissed from the (charge of) the taxation, the wālī ordered that he should be diverted of the garments which he wore, and that he should wear a garment of coarse wool which (even) a slave does not wear. He did this to him, and he (Ibn al-Mudabbir) was imprisoned in a narrow place in which he could turn neither to the right nor to the left. The provisions made for him were not sufficient for him. He was fettered with iron, and when it was the days of summer, he was brought out from it (the narrow place) and he was placed in the heat of the sun, and they kept [1] his face towards it (the sun) as it turned from the morning of each day till the ninth hour. Many times he fainted, so that he fell to the ground and became as one dead; then they struck him on his jugular veins and raised him up and seated him in the sun by force. He continued under this torture for many months. All who remembered his wickedness and his evil deed and (saw) what he received now, marvelled and glorified God and said, as saith David (Dāwūd) : "I saw the hypocrite exalted like the cedar of Lebanon (Lubnān) [2]. Yet I passed by, and he was not : and I sought him, but he was not found in his place" [3].

After a few days, the king sent to the land of Egypt (Miṣr) a wālī (who was charged) with the taxation. He was a good and virtuous man. When he arrived, he did good and manifested through his deed(s) (his) fear of God. God put [4] it into the heart of the wālī in the land (χώρα) of

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[1] *Lit.* turned.

[2] For the omission of a clause in this verse, cf. *Psalterii Versio Memphitica et recognitione Pauli de Lagarde,* Réédition par O. H. E. Burmester et E. Dévaud, Louvain, 1925, reading of MS. P.

[3] *Ps.* XXXVI, 35, 36.

[4] *Lit.* cast.

could endure it. So they fell into the hands of... [1] and married and quitted the Holy Jerusalem (Yarūšalīm) which is the desert of Abū Macarius (Maķār) [2]. Our father (Shenouti) beheld this and his heart was consumed, and he continued in supplication for the fathers, beseeching the Lord not to cause him to die, until he should behold their deliverance from this strife. God, the Lover of men. Who heareth them that fear Him, wrought a wondrous thing and took vengeance for His elect on their oppressor, and cut short their sighing. This is what happened. When the Lord visited the walī who had arrived in Egypt (Miṣr) from Khorassan (Khurāsān) from the king. He (also) destroyed the impious, and another man came in his place, who was brave, strong and to be feared, so that the wālīs of Egypt (Miṣr) feared him, and they became with him as a sparrow in the palm of a child, and none could withstand his command, whether it were a ķāḍi, wālī or a head of a dīwān. Fear of him fell upon the souls of the great and the small, and even upon his own brother. If he saw a man who was proud, he would take away from him his wealth and would abase him. He sent many people into the places of exile secretly, and he separated them from their wives and their children, and he did the same thing to his own brother without shame, and everyone obeyed him with fear and trembling.

When the blameworthy deed of Ibn al-Mudabbir became manifest to him (the walī) he ordered him to be brought from the dīwān with shame and opprobrium, and he installed in his place [3] a man, careful for his soul, (and) known for his [4] goodness *in the religion of Islām. He was put in charge of the taxation of the land of Egypt (Miṣr), and he began to do good, so that he caused every one to pray for him. God put [5] it into his heart to do good towards the monks, and especially (to free them) from the order of the poll-tax. They blessed God and the father, the

*fol. 126 v°

[1] H. C. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 324 quotes this passage, presumable from MS. Fonds Arabe No. 302, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, p. 38, and translates : 'and so they fell into the hands of tender women, and married'.

[2] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

[3] Ibn al-Mudabbir was superseded in A. D. 872, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[4] *Lit.* the.

[5] *Lit.* cast.

our father, the patriarch, he took him and desired him to receive his lot, but he would not accept it; yet God the Exalted Who bestows this degree on him whom He chooses, manifested to the father, the patriarch Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), in a dream that he should consecrate him bishop. He (Shenouti) believed what he saw (in the dream) and he took him (Anba George) by force.

We will also recount to you another miracle which it is incumbent upon us not to hide. We have already related about that miscreant Stephen (Iṣṭafan) ibn Anthony (Andūnah) the Egyptian (Miṣrī) who became a vessel of Satan (Šaiṭān) on account of his thoughts and his persecution of the brethren, the children of Baptism [1]. An amīr whose name was Yaḥya ibn ʿAbdallah was worse than he. He (Stephen) began to work evil as his father [2] and to slander the fathers, the monks, and to determine the tax upon them. Our father (Shenouti) used to ask him to refrain from mentioning the monks before the amīr, since he was his secretary, but he would not accept his (Shenouti's) request, and he did not cease from doing evil. The Lord took vengeance on him, on account of His elect. A pustule came out on the palm of his right hand with which he held the pen and wrote the calumnies and the wickedness against our fathers, the monks. It (the pustule) became an ulcer and it ate away all his palm and his arm, so that the physicians (decided) to cut off his arm. When he knew that if he lived after the cutting off of his arm, there would be great opprobrium (for him), he prevented them from cutting it off. He died an evil death, even as saith Isaiah (Išaʿyā) the prophet, "Woe to them that write wickedness, perverting the cause of the feeble, violently wresting the judgment of the needy ones of the people" [3].

When this apostate received this vengeance of the Lord, in truth, Ibn al-Mudabbir did not refrain from his evil deeds, even as Pharoah (Firʿawn) in his time, especially against the fathers, the monks, who were in the deserts, requiring them (to pay) what they could not, until none of them

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[1] A blank space follows this word in MS. A.
[2] Probably Satan.
[3] *Isaiah* X, 1*, 2*.

As regards Ibn al-Mudabbir the tyrant, whom we have mentioned, he did not turn from his evil deeds against us. This (man) wrote to all the land of Egypt (Miṣr) that two taxes should be exacted from every one that year, and two poll-taxes from every Christian (Naṣranī). The people who were in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) became poor for this reason by the order of this man, so that the rich could not find bread and they could not prevail against him. All the people were in affliction on account of his wrath against the father, the patriarch. He required of him (Shenouti) the tax which he (Shenouti) owed on the property (οὐσία) and on what belonged to Alexandria and the church of the martyr Menas (Mīnā) at Maryuṭ [1] and the monasteries, and the poll-tax on the monks. (This tax) which was fixed for him was, for the first year, seven thousand dīnārs, and he (Shenouti) endured patiently great trials [2] on account of him (Ibn al-Mudabbir). He (Shenouti) did not pay it (the tax) except after severe torture and sorrows. He implored God to have mercy upon him, His churches and His people. In these (trials) his thoughts and his senses were (directed) towards the Lord, the Clement One. His heart did not grow weak in these terrible trials [2] for a single day, through the strength of our Lord Christ Who said : "Seek ye first His Kingdom and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added" [3]. *The Lord was with him and He delivered him from his afflictions day by day, and Satan (Šaiṭān) was not able to cause him to go astray or to bring him under his sway, and his members did not incline for a single day to anything of it (Satan's rule) in this world. He did not advance anyone as bishop, except those whom God had chosen -good people, concerning whom no one was able to recall anything reprehensible. Of these I will mention one, the saintly bishop Anbā George (Ǧirǧah), bishop of al-Ḳais [4] who performed good deeds, acting through spiritual joy. At the consecration of this (man) as bishop, when the Holy Spirit revealed his state to

*fol. 126 r°

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[2] *Lit.* affairs.

[3] *Matt.* VI, 33; تزادونه for the 3rd per. pl. in the Bohairic version, cf. G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the northern dialect,* vol. I, p. 45.

[4] Amélineau, p. 395.

of them had much money, but he did not have compassion upon the hidden [1] and the poor and the other was compassionate (and) good. All that he gained he gave to the churches, the hidden [1] and the orphans. When the fire surrounded the shops (and reached) as far as the stores of the two merchants, it burnt all of them. The Lord Who speaketh through the tongue of David (Dāwūd) where he saith : "Blessed is he who hath compassion on the poor and needy ; in an evil day the Lord shall deliver him"[2], and he saith again: "I have never seen the righteous whom the Lord hath forsaken" [3] -the Lord saved all that belonged to this compassionate man from the fire, and nothing of it was burnt at all. As regards the rich man in whom there was no compassion, fire overcame all his property, and his riches became as dust before the wind. All who saw this wondrous affair glorified God—praised be He!—so that many put their trust at that time in Him Who saveth those who put their trust in Him.

After this, the chief of the army returned to Egypt (Miṣr), and God delivered into his hands the Madalgah[4], and he killed them with the sword. Those who remained of them fled to the mountains as far as Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿid). He threshed them, as a threshing-machine on the threshing-floor, and all that they had pillaged and taken possession of he took from them and took possession of it. The Lord took vengeance for the monasteries which they had devastated and for the saintly and pure fathers whose blood they had shed and for the virgins who they had ravished. He (the Lord) shewed forth in them His wonders, and in them was fulfilled the saying of the prophet Hosea (Awsyā) where he saith : "Their wickedness is remembered now before the Lord, and the thoughts of their hearts have compassed them about, and they are before My Face" [5]. The land of Egypt (Miṣr) was in security and its inhabitants and its poor rejoiced.

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[1] *i. e.* the rich man who has become poor and cannot beg openly.

[2] *Ps.* LX, 2.

[3] *Ps.* XXXVI, 25* (cf. Bohairic version).

[4] Cf. p. 56, note 2.

[5] Cf. *Hosea* VII, 2* (Bohairic version).

cavalry, and infantry marched before them [1], (and) they were also fighting men. He despatched on the river ships of the fleet (στόλος) in which was a great multitude of fighting men, and they went towards them (the insurgents). They (the insurgents) were in the districts of Banā [2] and Abūsīr [3] in the maritime region of the land of Egypt (Miṣr), being encamped between these two naḥiyats. Most of them (the insurgents) were slain with the sword and many were drowned in the river. Whosoever of them escaped and sought the fleet (στόλος), him the men who were in it (the fleet)—who were throwers of naphtha [4]—seized and burnt with fire between Sandafā [5] and al-Maḥallah [6]; and among the great number (of things) which the throwers of naphtha burnt with fire, there were burnt some shops of al-Maḥallah in which there was the merchandise of the merchants. Many of the rich became poor in that day. God destroyed those infidels, and whosoever remained of them and escaped, sought refuge in the Buḥairah [7], but he was not able to return, because the ships with naphtha were at the ferries, (and also) stationed at the fords.

When this happened, there was manifested on the day of the burning of al-Maḥallah and its shops, a wondrous mystery which it is incumbent upon us to make known to the faithful, on account of their great confidence in God Who preserveth His elect and leaveth them not to see corruption [8] and delivereth them in the time of wrath.

There were at that place two merchants who were neighbours. One

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(1) *Lit.* between their hands.

(2) Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

(3) Id., p. 7.

(4) Cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 2833, خرج النفاطون بأيديهم النفاطات 'The throwers of naphtha went forth, having in their hands the instruments with which to throw it'.

(5) Cf. Le Prince Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe,* in *Mémoires de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte,* t. VIII, première partie, p. 172.

(6) Amélineau, *op. cit*, p. 262.

(7) A province of Lower Egypt.

(8) Cf. *Ps.* XV, 10*.

Mecca (Makkah) in the land of the Ḥigaz (al-Ḥigāz), and it is called (also) al-Kaʿbah. He took possession of it and he took possession of the House[1] to which Muslims (Muslimīn) go on pilgrinage from all districts. It is the place into which, it is said, none may enter, except a šarīf[2], on account of the honour (in which it is held) among the Muslims (Muslimīn). The kings of the Muslims (Muslimīn) carry to it at all times money and cloths. When this insurgent took possession of it, he burnt it with fire together with that which was in it. He contemned them and said : "These are vile deeds which the Muslims (Muslimīn) do". He tied up his horses in that place, so that in that year it became an uninhabited desert. None of the people who used to go to it every year entered it. The Muslims (Muslimīn) were in[3] great grief on account of the destruction of the House[1].

When the Lord willed to look upon His people and His Church, He caused the king to send to the land of Egypt (Miṣr) a wālī whose name was Muzāḥim[4], a man who was pious and continent in his sect, knowing the precepts of his religion, and just in his ways. A great army of Turks (Atrāk) accompanied him. These people were brave (men) and fighters, and no one was able to fight against them, because their arms were different from the arms of the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr); these were arrows made of wood (nuššab).

When he reached Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr)[5], he took the money which Ibn al-Mudabbir had exacted, and he spent (it) on the men, and he formed many troops besides those who had come accompanying him from the East. He began to devise a plan against the people who raised up the disorders in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and in the city of Alexandria. When he knew that there were with them certain regions of Egypt (Miṣr), he sent *thither a chief of his army who was accompanied by armed *fol. 125 v°

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[1] *i. e.* the Kaʿbah, cf. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Cairo, ed. 1875), p. 232.

[2] *i. e.* one who is a descendant of the Prophet.

[3] *Lit.* under.

[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[5] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

lie in wait for the time when they (the monks) used to go out and to draw water, and they slew some of them and took from others what they found on them in the way of clothes and the water-skins in which they carried water. The fathers, the monks, were weeping and beseeching the Lord Christ to save them, and they endured patiently heat, cold and terror. They said as saith David (Dawūd) : "Bring us out of this tribulation, save us and deliver us for Thy mercy's sake" [1]. Likewise, the church of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā) at Maryuṭ [2] which was the delight of all the Orthodox (ὀρθοδόξος) people of Egypt (Miṣr) became a desert. No one was able to reach it in those days in which there was the siege around Alexandria by the Madalgah [3], the Beduins (ʿUrbān) and other marauders, all of whom were chiefs of the Madalgah. All the holy places were destroyed, and likewise the church of the Pure Mistress at Atrīb [4] and all the churches which were the consolation of the faithful, and likewise the monasteries of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) and the churches which are in it (the Ṣaʿīd), even as Amos (ʿĀmūs) the prophet saith : "I will turn your feasts into mourning and your songs into lamentations" [5].

The father (Shenouti) had an abundance of mourning and tears for the Holy Desert of Abu Macarius (Maḳār) [6] and for the unceasing praises of God (which had formerly resounded) from it ; for they (the monks) were like the angels of God who ceased not from praising. It (the desert) had become the dwelling-place of murderers and marauders, and the saints who were in the desert had sought refuge in all places, and the good brethren, the luminaries, had been dispersed.

By the incomprehensible decrees of God, when the feasts which we have mentioned were abandoned, there arose one of the race (γένος) of the king, and he gathered around him many murderous people, and he made war against the king, and he marched to the place which is now called

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[1] Cf. *Pss.* CXLII, 11* ; XLIII, 26*.

[2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[3] Cf. p. 56, note 2. This tribe is mentioned also in the *History of the Patriarchs* (Pontificate of Mark III, A. D. 799-819), in *P. O.*, t. X, fasc. 5, p. [544].

[4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[5] *Amos* VIII, 10*.

[6] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

people from this tribulation, and he did not cease to weep on account of the churches of Alexandria, for he was not able to send anything to their stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) to provide for the liturgies (ḳuddāsāt). All who journeyed from one place to another and had a single dirham, it would be taken from him and he would be killed on account of it. A man could not travel unless he wore tattered clothes and (had) a bag of no value, as saith Zachariah (Zakharyā) the prophet : "The wages of men shall not suffice for their sustenance, and there shall be no hire of beasts, and whosoever comes in and goes out shall not find peace on account of the tribulation" [1].

While this tribulation [2] was increasing, God, Whose power is great, beheld what was in the heart of our father (Shenouti) with regard to the affair of the churches of Alexandria, and He directed him to write a letter to the merchants who traded in linen from the eastern lands that they should come out to him without having anything with them. When they reached him, he (Shenouti) delivered to them what they should give to them [3], and he said to them : "Buy for yourselves *merchandise from Lower Egypt (Rīf) [4] and remit (money) in place of it to the steward (*οἰκονόμος*) at Alexandria, that he may spend it for the needs of the churches. They rejoiced at this and thanked him for his solicitude, and they took the money from him and they were saved from the risks of the way. The state of the churches and the Cell (*κελλίον*) [5] at Alexandria was established, as in the time when they possessed property (*οὐσία*).

*fol. 125 r°

The Beduins ('Urbān) did not cease pillaging the cells (*κελλίον*) of the monks and the monasteries, because their dwellings and their men [6] were there in the Wādī, (where) they were camping, so that they (the monks) dwelt in the keeps and the sanctuaries (*σκυνή*), and they built up the door-ways of their dwellings. They (the Beduins) used to

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[1] *Zach.* VIII, 10*.
[2] *Lit.* matter.
[3] *i. e.* the stewards of the churches of Alexandria.
[4] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. 8, p. 101.
[5] *i. e.* the residence of the Patriarch.
[6] MS. A reads 'camp'.

sought to send to them something wherewith to feed them, yet he could not on account of the siege which it (Alexandria) suffered [1] through these people. This siege [2] continued about this city, and God put [3] it into the hearts of the inhabitants of Rosetta (Rašīd) [4] to build ships, load them with corn and sail with them over the Mediterranean [5] to the city of Alexandria. For this reason there was security for Alexandria. Corn was plentiful among them (the inhabitants) through the goodness of God upon them and upon their children. When its (Alexandria's) siege continued and the inhabitants were straitened [6], its chiefs assembled and took counsel with the wālī of it, and they said : "It is necessary that we erect a rampart round all the city". Then each of the owners of houses and buildings erected a wall as far as his neighbour's. A wall was (thus) made to encircle it (Alexandria), and they made gates in it (the wall), and they ordered that only one gate should be opened. Under the direction of God Who saves the poor and wretched man, they did this and the city was fortified. Its inhabitants were protected from the enemy, and they (the enemy) were not able by reason of this fortification to take [7] it (Alexandria).

The father (Shenouti) was sad at heart and he knew not in what place he might shelter, because they had pillaged all the places which belonged to him. He was unable to shew himself in Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [8] on account of Ibn al-Mudabbir the tyrant, for, besides all these trials, there was required of him the tax, namely, the tax on property (*οὐσία*) and other things besides. Every one who escaped from this enemy sought refuge in Cairo (Miṣr) for fear of him (the enemy), whom this evil man, Ibn al-Mudabbir, seized and cast into prison. For this reason, our father (Shenouti) feared to enter into Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [8], lest he should be asked for the tax on the property (*οὐσία*) which belonged to the churches that had been pillaged. When our father (Shenouti) learned of the inhabitants of al-Maḥallah al-Kabīrah [9] and their faith, he went to them and remained there, beseeching God to save His Church and His

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[1] *Lit.* was upon it. — [2] *Lit.* affair. — [3] *Lit.* cast. — [4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 404. — [5] *Lit.* the salt sea. — [6] *Lit.* their breast was oppressed. — [7] *Lit.* open. — [8] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538. — [9] Id., p. 262.

city of Banā [1]. No one was able to fight against them. They were greater murderers than any people, and they could not be withstood. When their power had grown strong, they took possession of the lands and of all the property (οὐσία) of the church of the martyr Abū Menas (Mīna) at Maryūṭ [2] and Maḥallat Baṭrah [3], and, likewise, the property (οὐσία) of the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳar) [4]. *(and) they pillaged them all and devoured their cereals and divided them between them.

*fol. 124 v°

When they had committed oppressions and injustices and had increased their wealth, their men, their beasts, their women, their children and their habitations, the chief among them and those of the warriors who were with him whom he had selected, resolved to besiege the city of Alexandria. He demanded that it should be given up to him to pillage, as he had pillaged the other cities. He took captive the children and the women, and he slew the men and seized the money. But he was not able to take [5] it by any means, since he was not able to attack the fortifications, because he did not have engines (of war). However, he laid siege to it and prevented provisions from entering it from the lake or from the sea. He erected dams in (various) places near the city, and he prevented the water from (reaching) them (the inhabitants). So they (the inhabitants) drank from the wells and cisterns. Corn (ghallāt) [6] became rare in the city of Alexandria, and it could not be found for a dīnar or a dirham. The churches were deprived of the Eucharist (Ḳurbān) on account of the scarcity of corn and wine, because the property (οὐσία) of the churches, their stores and their money had been seized and pillaged at the hands of these marauding people, and they (these people) became strong enough through them to besiege Alexandria.

When (the news) reached the father of what its people endured, he

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[2] Id., p. 241.

[3] Id., p. 105.

[4] *i. e.* the church in the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wadi'n-Naṭrun.

[5] *Lit.* open.

[6] Wheat mixed with barley or tares.

account of what would befall them through the marauding Arabs ('Arab), and they communicated of the Mysteries before dawn, while the father (Shenouti) wept over the desertion of the desert by the monks. Then he dismissed the people, and he went out and comforted them. They blessed God and they marvelled at the strength and boldness of the father, for they saw him as Moses (Musa) the prophet before the Children of Israel (Banī Isrāyıl). Thus by his prayers and his purity God delivered the people from the hands of the Arabs ('Arab) that day. But he (Shenouti) ceased not to weep on seeing how the monks were passing over to the land of Lower Egypt (Rıf)[1] for fear of the marauder, so that only a few people remained in the monasteries. Satan (Šaiṭan) did not cease to raise up trials for the churches in the land of Egypt (Miṣr).

Another story. At that time there arose a Muslim man of the Madalǧah[2] who dwelt at Alexandria, and with him there were many people of his warrior friends who were known for their courage. When the Beduins ('Urbān) heard of his renown, a great multitude (of them) came to him, and a multitude of men, even workmen, gathered around him, and they formed a great multitude. They used to go to every place in which there was a mutaṣarrif from the king, and they would seize him and exact from him the money which was in[3] his hands, and (then) they would kill him. They burnt many towns and killed many people, and his (the Muslim's) friends sent troops after troops to the east of Egypt (Miṣr) until they reached Banā[4] and took possession of it. They collected the taxes of Maryūṭ[5] and its districts as far as the

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[1] Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.

[2] Cf. القاموس المحيط للفيروزابادى, *Al-Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* of Al-Fīrūzabādī, 3rd edition, Būlāk, Cairo (A. H. 1301), p. 188 : وبنو مدلج قبيلة من كنانة 'and the Banū Mudliǧ, a tribe of Kinānah'. For Kinānah, cf. كتاب معجم البلدان لياقوت بن عبد الله الحموى الرومى البغدادى, *Kitāb Mu'ǧam al-Buldān* of Yaḳūt ibn 'Abdallah al-Ḥamawī ar-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, 1st edition, Cairo (A. D. 1906), vol. VII, p. 282 : وشعب بنى كنانة بين الحجون وصفى السباب 'and the people, of Banū Kinānah between al-Haǧūn and Ṣafuī as-Sabāb'.

[3] *Lit.* under.

[4] Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[5] Id., p. 241.

(Sawīrus) whose work was good with the Lord, for he had trust in the patriarch and a love for the holy monasteries, heard (this), he arose in haste and came to the monasteries and met the father and the monks and the bishops, and he strengthened their souls and put himself at their disposal [1], and said to the father : "I will deliver myself for thee and for the people, until they have gone out from among these rebels". The father saw the timidity of the hearts of the people and that they were determined to go out, being terrified of the Arabs (ʿArab) who surrounded them and (who) desired to take them and to kill them with the edge of the sword ; he strengthened them and comforted them through the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he said, as Paul (Buluṣ) said to those who were with him in the ship : "For one soul from among you shall not perish" [2]. He said to them : "God hath delivered you out of the hands of these oppressors and He will fight for you". He (Shenouti) perceived that some among them had little faith in what he said to them and that their hearts were timorous, so he bade them assemble all the people in the church on Sunday [3] that he might communicate them from the Holy Mysteries by night before dawn, and that he might go with them till he had brought them to Lower Egypt (Rīf) [4]. Thus their souls were strengthened. Then he arose at midnight, and the bishops and the monks and the people came together to him, and he began the Liturgy, and while he went round the sanctuary (haikal) [5] with incense, his eyes shed bitter tears, even as saith Obadiah (ʿAbudya) the prophet : "Let the priests that minister about the altar (haikal) of the Lord weep" [6]. He wept and said as the prophet saith : "Spare, O Lord, Thy people, and give not Thine inheritance to this reproach, that the heathen should rule over it, lest the heathen should say, Where is their God ?" [7] The fathers, the monks, wept bitterly and their tears mingled with (their) thoughts, on

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(1) *Lit.* disposed his soul before them.
(2) *Acts* XXVII, 22*.
(3) *i. e.* Easter Sunday, 7th April, A. D. 866.
(4) Cf. *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, pp. 96 sqq.
(5) The word 'haikal' is used also for altar.
(6) The quotation is from Joel I, 9*.
(7) *Joel* II, 17*.

drew their swords and stood on the rock [1] east of the church and took the clothing that they found on the people, and whosoever resisted, they wounded him with the sword. This happened on the Thursday [2] of the Week of the Pascha (Fiṣḥ), the ninth of Baramūdah [3]. Those of the people who escaped entered the church, crying, weeping and saying : "O our father, help us, for these Beduins ('Urbān) have prevailed over us". When this saint saw the distress of the people, he rose up and took in his hand his staff on which there was the emblem of the Cross, and he went out to the Arabs ('Arab), saying : "It is good for me that I should die with the people of God, or, perchance, when they (the Arabs) see me, they will refrain from their wickedness, and this weakened people will be saved". When the bishops beheld the excellence of the intention of the father and how he delivered himself unto death for his people, they took hold of him and prevented him from going out to the Arabs ('Arab), and they said : "We will not let thee deliver thyself into the hands of these foul murderers". When he (Shenouti) heard them, he said to them with humility, lowliness and strength of soul, *as saith Paul (Būluṣ) : "For I make known to you that this will happen to me (unto) salvation, through your prayers and (the) supply of the Holy Spirit of Jesus Christ, (accodring to) my confidence and my hope... whether by [4] life or by [4] death. For my life is Christ and death is gain to me" [5].

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He (Shenouti) became strong in Christ, and he went out to the miscreant Arabs ('Arab), but by the clemency of God they had gone back and they did not appear on that day, but they (Shenouti and those with him) returned by the help of God and the intention and constancy of this father Anbā Shenouti (Shanūdah), and Satan (Šaiṭan) the hater of good, was put to shame.

When the faithful archon (*ἄρχων*) Stephen (Isṭafan) son of [6] Severus

[1] Concerning this rock, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 326, note 1.

[2] *i. e.* Maundy Thursday.

[3] *i. e.* 4th April, A. D. 886. Cf. *Le Synaxaire arabe Jacobite,* in *P. O.*, t. XVI, fasc. 2, pp. [938-939].

[4] *Lit.* in. The Arabic translates the Coptic ϧⲉⲛ.

[5] Cf. *Philip.* I, 19*-20*, 21.

[6] The MS. has 'and'.

Then he besought the aid of God and made his way to the Wādī [1].

Now the Arabs (ʿArab) knew the time when the strangers assembled there, and they arrived in secret from Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd), and they took possession of the church of the father Macarius (Maḳarah) and of the fortifications and carried off all the furniture and the food and other things which were in them. On the first day of Baramūdah [2] they (the Arabs) made the round of all the monasteries and robbed all those who were in them and the people who came to them [3], and they drove most of them out (at the point of) the sword. When the father saw this affair, he was afflicted on account of it. Then the fathers, the bishops, and the monks came together to him weeping and saying : "It was for thy sake that we remained here. We desire of thee that thou prevent us not from departing, lest we die by the hands of this miscreant people".

This happened on the Friday [4] of the Week of the Pascha (Fiṣḥ), and when our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanudah) heard of it, he knew that it was a ruse and a snare of Satan (šaiṭānī) which Satan (Šaiṭān) had set for him, on account of that which was in him from the Holy Spirit. He (Shenouti) knew that he who had assembled the people and harassed them desired thereby to devastate the desert, so that there should be none in it of them who remember the Name of God the Exalted. There upon, he said in the strength of (his) heart : "May the Lord strike thee, O Satan (Šaiṭān) and bring to nought thy conspiracy which thou hast formed". The fathers, the bishops, besought him to depart, so that they might accompany him. But he said to them : "Pardon me, O my holy fathers, we will not quit this place, until we have accomplished the Feast of Easter (Fiṣḥ), even if my blood is to be shed". When the monks saw his courage and his strength of heart, they envied him for his courage, and they became strengthened and did not allow Satan (Šaiṭān) to vanquish them. The Arabs (ʿArab) began to harass the congregation of the monks, so that they should not accomplish the Feast of Easter (Fiṣḥ), but perform the will of their (the Arabs') father Satan (Šaiṭan). They

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[1] *i. e.* the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn. — [2] *i. e.* 27th March, A. D. 866. — [3] *i. e.* the visitors. — [4] *i. e.* Good Friday.

irrigated, so that one of those who were there stated that the rain was sufficient for them for three years.

I will relate to you another miracle (which happened) on the same day. Our saintly father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) was informed that one of the priests at the church of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā) had defrauded a woman (who was) a widow who had a piece of vineyard in his neighbourhood, and that he (the priest) had taken from it a part and had added it to his (own) vineyard. *The father caused him to be brought to him and remonstrated with him and asked him not to commit (this) sin, but that priest did not accept (the warning) from him (Shenouti). Then he (Shenouti) rightly excommunicated him, and God caused a miracle to be manifested on his account, because he had stamped upon the interdict with his feet. My brethren and my beloved, the faithful, believe this from me, and think nothing of worldly matters, but believe that God is Almighty. The rain which we mentioned descended upon all the lands and the vineyards, except (upon) the vineyard of that priest whom our father excommunicated. The saying of the prophet was accomplished upon him : "We will rain upon it and we will not rain upon it" [1]. All who saw this miracle glorified God.

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Another story. It was in the eighth year of the patriarchate of this father, and the days of the Holy Fast [2] drew near, and he desired to journey to the Holy Desert in the Wadī Habīb [3] to accomplish there the Fast and the Holy (Feast of) Easter (Fiṣḥ). Some of the faithful counselled him not to go for fear of the marauding Arabs (ʿArab), for it was the time when they came down from the land of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) to the land of Lower Egypt (Rīf) [4], after putting their beasts out to grass, lest something should befall him through them. The saintly father said in his heart : "If I do this, I shall cause joy to Satan (Šaiṭān). If I refrain from going to the holy places, then the people will remain back because of me, and they will be deprived of the blessings of the Saints".

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[1] Cf. *Amos* IV, 7*.

[2] *i. e.* Lent.

[3] Cf. p. [1], note 2.

[4] Cf. *Orientalia,* t. VIII, p. 107.

comforted them and said to them : "I believe that God will shew us His mercy speedily through the prayers of His martyr". When he had completed the Liturgy on the fifteenth day of Hatur, he communicated the people from the Holy Mysteries, and he besought the Lord with all his heart and his mind [1] that the Lord should be mindful of His weakened people in those places and that He should make glad [2] their hearts with water. The Lord, the Lover of man, Who hears the prayer of His servants at all times and (Who) accomplishes the desires of those who fear Him, performed a marvellous thing on that day, for, when the people were gathered together with the father, and the sun was near setting, while they were eating bread, drops of rain began to fall from the heaven (and) then it became dark. Then our father said with spiritual delight : "O my Lord Jesus Christ, my God, rich in Thy (*lit.* His) [3] clemency, if Thou dost desire to be merciful to Thy people, have mercy upon them, that they may be filled with Thy delights and Thy blessing". When he had said this, he entered into his closet to rest and to sleep a while. When he lifted up his hands to accomplish the Prayer of Sleep [4] according to his custom, he besought the Lord to be mindful of His people. When he had finished his prayer, a great thunderstorm broke [5] from the heaven and rain descended and poured down on the earth like flowing rivers, and the rain did not cease till the morrow. All who were in those places came to the church and invoked blessings and gave praise and said : "Blessed be the hour in which thou didst come to us, because God hath delivered us through thy pure prayers from this misfortune". The cisterns in all the places were filled and the lands and the vines were

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[1] *Lit.* thoughts.

[2] يسر : a later hand has added د above ر. It seems that the diacritical point of a ق in the line beneath was taken as belonging to this word, and thus يرد resulted.

[3] The third person singular occurs quite regularly in Coptic prayers, where grammar requires the second person singular.

[4] *i. e.* Compline, cf. O. H. E. Burmester, *The Canonical Hours of the Coptic Church*, in *Or. Chr. Per.*, t. II, p. 95.

[5] *Lit.* happened.

me to complete the holy discourse (history). I was sad at heart, since I was unable (to do it), and I saw those (people) and Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb) working assiduously at building the foundations. After a little, I saw the columns which they had erected, and they blessed me and departed from me. I knew that those columns were the saintly fathers whose holy biographies I desired to write, but was unable (to do it) owing to the paucity of my understanding. When it was morning, I gave [1] my beloved brethren who were with me, the sons of the aforesaid father, Anba Shenouti (Šanudah), a description of the circumstance and the dream which I saw. They comforted me and strengthened my heart, when I said : "I am unable to set forth the discourse (history) of the holy fathers, but as a poor (and) wretched (one) I will write whatsoever lies in my power". From that time I began to write the eighteenth, the nineteenth and twentieth biographies, according to what I heard from the tongue of the trustworthy and faithful brethren who observed what I myself also observed with my eyes with regard to my holy fathers.

I will relate also a miracle which happened through the prayers of the holy fathers, before we record the trials which our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) endured. Our father went to the church of the holy martyr, the possessor of the three crowns, Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā) in Maryūṭ [2] on the fifteenth day of Hatūr [3]. While he was journeying on the way and we were following him, and before our arrival at the church, on the thirteenth day of Hatūr, there gathered around us a great multitude of the faithful people, since they did not find water to drink. The reason for this was that the heaven had not rained for three years, and the wells and the cisterns had become dry. When the father, the patriarch, saw the people coming to the church for the feast, and being thirsty, (because) they did not find water, he was grieved exceedingly [4] on account of this, and he entered into the holy church. All those who wished (to celebrate) the feast gathered together to him and they besought him saying : "We beseech thee, O our father, to pray to the Lord that He may be gracious unto us, lest we and our children and our cattle die of thirst". He

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[1] *Lit.* told. — [2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241. — [3] *i. e.* the Feast of St. Menas. — [4] *Lit.* with a great grief.

of Baramhāt [1] (which was) a Sunday, and this was established as true in their minds.

I, the wretched and poor one, the writer of this biography, used to say: "Who may it be who shall write the biography of this father?", on account of the greatness of my faith in him, till the Lord Christ appeared to me in a [2] dream, and sent to me the old man, the Saint Ammon (Amūnah) whom I mentioned in the beginning. He said to me : "My son, John (Yūḥannā), dost thou not remember what I said to thee while I was with thee in the world, when thou wast taught writing under me [3], how none would write the eighteenth biography till he come, the first (letter) of whose name is eighteen, and great and marvellous deeds are performed? Thou shalt be the writer of the whole of his encomium, the first (letter) of whose name is eighteen, who is our father Sinouthius (Sānūtiūs) [4]". I was astonished and I did not know the meaning of what he said. Then he said to me : "If thou count from one to a hundred, which is from ⲁ to ⲣ, thou wilt find seventeen letters, and the eighteenth letter is ⲥ which is the first (letter) of the name of this father Shenouti (Šanūdah).". When he had said this to me, he departed from me, and I did not behold him afterwards. That which happened on that night was manifested in order that everyone might know the dignity of the fathers the patriarchs, and might glorify them that suffered fatigues and endured patiently trials.

(This) is (what) I beheld : the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb) [5], the patriarch, clothed with a garment of brilliant light shining with great glory and with him some shining people, and they said to him : "Let us go to the place from which we went out", but he said to them : "Believe me, I will not leave (this place) until *my son has laid the foundations which he intended to build". Those shining people were importuning

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[1] Cf. *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite, P. O.*, t. XVI, fasc. 2, p. [912] and M. Chaîne, *La Chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris, 1925, pp. 43-44.

[2] *Lit.* my.

[3] Cf. *History of the Patriarchs, op. cit.*, t. X, fasc. 5, p. [645].

[4] *Σινούθιος* is the Greek form of the Coptic name Shenouti.

[5] See p. [1], note 3.

wrote for him to all the lands that all the churches in every place should be rebuilt according to what was set forth by the order of the king al-Musta'īn bi'llah.

Our father took the letters and delivered them to certain people who were on his side (and who took them) to all the districts of Lower (Rīfīn)[1] and Upper Egypt (Ṣa'īdīn). He also wrote to the bishops and consoled them in his letters with good consolation full of wisdom from the books of the Church. When the letters reached the wālīs, they authorized the faithful to rebuild the churches in every place, as far as the city of Aswān[2] and as far as the city of al-Faramā[3]. O the joy at that blessed time which was in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) among men, women and children, even as it is written in the Acts (Πρᾶξις) : "The Church indeed which is in all Judea (Yahudyah) and the land of Galilee (al-Ǧalīl) and Samaria (as-Samirah) had peace, and they were walking in the fear of God, and they were being multiplied in the consolation of the Holy Spirit"[4]. Who does not marvel now and glorify God and acknowledge this grace, even as the Lord Christ saith in His Gospel : "He who shall confess Me before men, him shall I confess before the angels of Heaven"[5].

I remember that there were in the days of our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) some people who said that Easter (Fiṣḥ) in the year in which the Saviour Jesus Christ was crucified was on the sixteenth day of Baramudah. The father Anba Shenouti (Šanūdah) was occupied with this matter till he was able to shew to them the truth and proved it to them namely (that), the Holy Resurrection was in the year five thousand five hundred and thirty-four (of the Creation) of the World, and that the Crucifixion was on Friday, the twenty-seventh day which had elapsed of Baramhāt. This was the day on which Adam went out from the Paradise (παράδεισος), and the Resurrection was on the twenty-ninth day

[1] Cf. O. H. E. Burmester, *The Rīf of Egypt*, in *Orientalia*, vol. VIII, p. 118.

[2] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

[3] Id., p. 317.

[4] *Acts* IX, 31.

[5] Cf. *Luke* XII, 8*.

informed him (al-Musta'īn) about the state of the decree (siğill) which his brother had written and that there remained only (to place) the seal upon it. He (al-Musta'īn) ordered that they should search for it (the decree) in the Dīwān and bring it out. It was discovered and brought to him, and he learned of its contents and ordered that it should be completed [1] and that it should be placed in the hands of the Dhimmah [2] in the territory of the land (χώρα) of the Egyptians (Miṣriyyīn). He prescribed in the severest terms that upon him who transgressed it (the decree) the vengeance of the king should fall. He ordered that there should be returned to them (the Christians) all the vessels and other things belonging to the churches and monasteries which had been taken away by force, and (also) the estates, the dwellings, the properties (οὐσία) and the other things which had been in the hands of the Christians (Naṣārā), of which they (the Christians) *had had free use. When this decree (siğill) reached the land of Egypt (Miṣr), the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) and all the bishops and the people, the lovers of God, rejoiced at it, and the monks who had escaped the sword reappeared and restored their churches and their monasteries. Likewise, (the inhabitants of) Syria (Šām) provided for the restoration of such of their churches as had been ruined.

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This father (Shenouti) gave thanks to God and glorified Him and said : "Thanks be to God Who hath fulfilled my desire and hath saved His inheritance and hath renewed the face of the earth". The father built the tabernacle of David (Dāwūd) which was fallen [3], as the Lord saith : "and that which is ruined thereof I will set up and I will build; that the residue of men may seek after the Lord, and all the nations upon whom My Name is called" [4]. Comforted by this, the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) went to the mutawallī of the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and asked him to execute the order of the king. Then he (the mutawallī)

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[1] *i. e.* have the seal put upon it.

[2] الذمة *i. e.* اهل الذمة Christians and Jews enjoying protection under Muslim rule.

[3] Cf. *Acts* XV, 16*.

[4] *Acts* XV, 16*, 17.

multitude of the saintly monks who where in them (the monasteries), and they violated a multitude of the virgin nuns and killed some of them with the sword. They did in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) deeds which, if we were to mention (even) a small (part) of them, the explanation thereof would be drawn out, and the reader would be far from understanding it.

It happened before the arrival of this man, whom we have mentioned before, who imposed the oppression and the tax upon the monasteries and the churches, that news of him reached the two aforesaid archons (ἄρχων) Abraham (Ibrahīm) and Severus (Sawīrus), and they determined to go to the city of the king. When the father Anba Shenouti (Šanudah) learned of this, he said to them in a letter which he wrote to them, saying: "I beseech the Lord Christ to decree [1] for you peace and to preserve you and to aid you to attain your desire. If God grant you, my children, lovers of God, to reach (the king) and you attain your ends, let your prayer be for the churches of Egypt (Miṣr) which have been destroyed at this time, which I hope will be rebuilt during my life [2], and (I hope) to see them [3] before my spirit is taken. This is my ardent desire from the Lord Jesus Christ".

This blessed archon (ἄρχων) Abraham (Ibrahīm), one of the two of them (the archons) imposed it (the matter) upon his soul and occupied himself with it. When he reached the city of the king, he communicated the news to some of the faithful who were among the servants of the king, and they rejoiced at this. They approached al-Muʿtaz who was mutawallī in those days and they asked him concerning the matter of the churches, and they explained to him what Ibn al-Muddabir had done and what had happened through him. He (al-Muʿtaz) granted their request and he wrote for them a decree (siğill) (authorizing them) to (re)build the churches in all the land of Egypt (Miṣr). They registered the decree (siğill) and said: "We implore his signature and (his) seal to this", (but) he (al-Muʿtaz) died and his brother al-Musta'in reigned after him.

Abraham (Ibrahīm) the archon (ἄρχων) wrote a letter in which he

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[1] *Lit.* write. — [2] *Lit.* in my days — [3] *i. e.* the churches rebuilt.

On account of what happened between al-Muʿtaz and al-Mustaʿīn, the roads were closed and no one was able to carry out any of the tax from the kingdom of Egypt (Miṣr), so that Ibn al-Mudabbir kept with him in Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [1] all (the tax) which he had collected, to see to whom the kingdom would belong [2], so that he might pay it (the tax) to him. On account of that all the merchants were deprived (of the use) of the roads of Egypt (Miṣr) and of the East (al-Mašriḳ), and the people became impoverished in Egypt (Miṣr) through the closing of the roads and the burden of the taxes. That evil man, namely, Ibn al-Mudabbir, paid no attention to the wars of the two kings nor to the fear which was upon the country, but he devised trials for the people and collected the money, thinking to bear it to him who would reign, and through it to have approach to him. Yet the Lord was clement and He dispelled the wars, and it (the news) reached the land of Egypt (Miṣr) on the first day of Baramudah [3] that al-Muʿtaz had conquered and put al-Mustaʿīn to rout. Laudatory addresses were delivered for him in Egypt (Miṣr).

All the tribes were joyful, on account of the fear which had been upon the country, for the Arabs (ʿArab) in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) had ruined (the country). They were the people whose dwellings were in the mountain and the deserts, and they caused ruin in Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) and pillaged and killed. Among all (the places) which they pillaged was the monastery of Abū Shenouti (Šanūdah) [4], and the monastery of al-Ḳalamūn in the Fayyūm [5], and the monastery of Anbā Pachomius (Bakhūm) which is in the district of Ṭaha near a naḥiyah known as Barganūs [6]. They burnt the fortresses and pillaged the provinces and killed a

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

[2] *Lit.* him who was worthy of the kingdom.

[3] March-April (Julian Style).

[4] Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. I, p. 351.

[5] Cf. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, vol. I, pp. 46-52.

[6] Fr. J. Simon informs me that Abū Ṣāliḥ (cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, fol. 86*a*) mentions : "There is also the monastery of St. Pachomius at Barjanūs in the district of Ṭaḥā". Cf. also J. Leroy, *Les miracles de Saint Ptolémée, P. O.*, t. V, p. 782, where the monastery mentioned there may be that of St. Pachomius at Barjanūs.

and of what God did for our father the patriarch Anbá Shenouti (Šanūdah), in order that we may come back to what al-Muntaṣir did when he killed his father and sat (upon the throne) in his place. He had two brothers. The name of one of them was al-Muʿtaz and of the other al-Mū'yyid. Their father Gaʿfar al-Mutawakkil had arranged that the kindgom should be for his three children after him. When Muḥammad sat (upon the throne) after his father Gaʿfar, he seized his brothers whom we have mentioned, and confined them in a narrow cell [1] that he might kill them both. His time did not last long, and he died, as we have said.

When Aḥmad al-Mustaʿīn sat (upon the throne) after him, he brought out the two brothers from prison. One of the two, al-Muʿtaz, took a troop of those who were about him, and he got together an army and went out to make war against his brother al-Mustaʿīn Aḥmad, the good man, who had set him free from prison, and with him was his brother, that he might wrest the kingdom from him and sit (upon the throne) in his stead.

Al-Muʿtaz sorely pressed al-Mustaʿīn, and (therefore) he left the city of the king which is called Surra-Man-Ra'ā [2]. He left behind him his wife, his wealth and his children in the royal palace [3], and he fled to the first royal city [4] of Baghdad (Baghdād) [5]. Al-Muʿtaz took possession of the royal palace and of all that was in it. *He took the money and spent it on his soldiers who were with him. As regards that (man) al-Mustaʿīn who fled, many places were in obedience to him.

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The two brothers continued to make war against one another for three years, up to the year in which we wrote this biography, which is the year five hundred and eighty-two of the pure Martyrs [6] which corresponds in the reign of Islām to the year two hundred and fifty-two of the Higrah.

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[1] *Lit.* place.

[2] Surra-Man-Ra'ā = Sāmarrā, cf. G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad* (Paris, 1904), pp. 79-80, 175.

[3] *Lit.* house of royalty.

[4] *Lit.* city of the king.

[5] Cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islām,* p. 578 'Baghdād dut pour une période de 55 ans céder son rang de capitale de l'empire à une petite ville de province, située à trois jours de marche en amont, Sāmarrā'.

[6] *i. e.* A. D. 865-866.

Then the ḳāḍī said : "The witnesses whom the law (šarʿ) allows (to witness) witness against thee". Then he (the ḳāḍī) said to the deacon : "Bring forward thy witnesses", and he went in haste to the witnesses. When they saw him, they cursed him and abused him and said to him : "Why didst thou clothe us with deceit?" He (the deacon) became exceedingly ashamed and returned to the ḳaḍī, saying : "I did not find my witnesses". Then he (the ḳāḍī) ordered him to present himself on the morrow. When the morrow was come, our father hastened to present himself to the ḳaḍı, and the ḳāḍī waited for that criminal forger, but he did not see him on account of his lie. Then he (the ḳāḍī) said to the father : "Return to thy dwelling". The non-deacon brought upon himself great opprobrium, and he remained for a time without shewing himself. Then, after that, he presented himself to him (Shenouti) and asked him to forgive him. He confessed his sins to him (Shenouti) and he accepted him and said to him : "My son, it is neccessary for us all to stand before the great (Judgment) Seat of God, naked, poor and bare-headed. Try, my son, to do good at all times, and speak not falsehood, lest thou shouldst hear (the saying of) the Scripture : "The Lord shall destroy all that speak falsehood" [1]. The deacon remained in great fear, making obeisances (μετάνοια) and saying : "Forgive me".

In those (days) there died the king Ibn al-Mutawakkil who is al-Muntaṣir the murderer of his father. Another king did not arise in his place for six months. God took vengeance on him on account of what he had done to his father after his murder, and because he had slept also with the concubines of his father after his murder, for his body became covered with malignant ulcers [2] before his death. There ruled after him al-Mustaʿīn, and he was a good and generous man, as was testified of him. He did good in his days in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and its provinces, in his country, the East (Mašriḳ) and Syria (Šām).

It is incumbent upon us to speak of what befell this king in his kingdom

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(1) Cf. *Ps.* V, 6*.

(2) Rendering according to Dr. G. Sobhy bey who informs me that the term اورام خبيثة is used to denote 'malignant tumours or cancers'.

One of the faithful learned of this, and he went and informed the patriarch about what had been done by that man. He (Shenouti) was wont to be circumspect with all who walk in the way of evil. When he heard of what that evil man had done, he acted wisely, so that he might undo it through the grace of God which was in him (Shenouti) and through His Name the remembrance of which was not removed from his mouth *night or day.

*fol. 121 v°

There was in Cairo (Miṣr) a Muslim man who had great faith in the patriarch, and he caused him (Shenouti) to be brought to him one day, and he informed him about what he knew of the deed of the non-deacon, and how he had brought to witness against the Syrian (Šāmī) monk witnesses by means of whom judgment might be given. The Muslim said : "If this ignorant (man) did this that he might overcome us, how is it that the people who are known to be trustworthy have not died, and how is it that he has robbed them of a thing which was not known to them? But, by the grace of God, we hope to save ourselves and them from the error of this ignorant (man)". Then the Muslim said to him (Shenouti) : "What oughtest thou to do?" The father said to him through his understanding and his enlightened wisdom : "I wish thee to go to those people who are trustworthy upon whom this (man) has played the trick and to pacify their hearts and to bring them to me. I shall sit with these bishops who are with me, as if I am one of them. Then say thou to them (the people) : For whom of these did ye witness?" He (the Muslim) did this, and they came. The Muslim said to them, as our father had said, but they said : "He is not one of these". Then he (the Muslim) said to our father : "Inform the elders (the witnesses) of what has befallen them through that ignorant deacon". When they (the witnesses) heard, they marvelled and were astonished. Then they swore an oath that they would not witness (again) after that day.

The deacon did not know what had happened, and after some days, he went to the ḳāḍī, for he knew not that the Lord contemned his conspiracy, and he brought out the certificate for the ḳāḍī. He (the ḳāḍī) ordered that the father should be brought, and he said to him : "Knowest thou what this man says?" The father said : "No".

Twelve Chapters (Κεφάλαιον) of Cyril (Kirillus̩) and some of the sayings of Epiphanius (Abifāniūs) and many epistles of our Fathers. The saying of Amos (ʿĀmūs̩) was fulfilled in this man and in those who followed him: "They hated him who reproved in the gates and him who admonished in them, and holy speech they rejected" [1] through the dissembling of Satan (Šait̩ān) who dwelt in the heart of that old man. The father wished to bring him back from his errors and he said, as (it is written) in the Acts (Πρᾶξις): "I am constrained to speak to you first the word of God. Since ye cast it away and are not made worthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles" [2]. By the grace of God which was with our father Anba Shenouti (Šanudah) he brought back all who followed the misled old man, and they confessed the true [3] Faith.

When Satan (Šait̩ān) was put to shame and did not gain anything by his snares in the districts of Upper Egypt (S̩aʿīdyah), he began to set another snare to mislead other people, lest he (Satan) should be brought to nought through the fight with the father. When the father returned from Upper Egypt (S̩aʿīd) and reached Cairo (Mis̩r), there was there an evil man who approached the father and asked him to take from him much money and to make him bishop. The father did not pay attention to anything of this, on account of his love for Christ and on account of what he understood by the meaning of ordination (χειροτονία). That ignorant (man) did not cease to come back to him (Shenouti) by every (possible) means, but he (Shenouti) did not do what he (the man) asked for. Then he (the man) reflected upon a shameful deed. He found a man who was a monk, a native of Syria (Sūryah), and he went with him to his place of dwelling and gave him money and clothed him with garments. He instructed him (the monk) to walk with him (the man) as if he were the patriarch, and that he should borrow from him money and go with him to witnesses to witness for him. When he had arranged this with the monk, he went with him to witnesses who did not know the patriarch, and they said to him: "We testify for thee", and he said: "It is well". Then he took the certificate and concealed it on him, and he was seeking a day to find a means by which to bring the father to the h̩ākim.

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[1] Cf. *Amos* V, 10 (text rearranged). — [2] Cf. *Acts* XIII, 46*. — [3] *Lit.* good.

(to the king) : "This is what used to be stolen by those who were before me". The father was in great distress, and besides this there was great anxiety in his heart concerning those who remained in Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) in the false doctrine. He said : "Woe to me, if I leave Satan (Šaiṭan) to rule over the inheritance of the King of Heaven and earth. What will be my gain if these souls perish?" Then this good shepherd arose and journeyed to the country of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd), even as his Master arose[1] to seek that which is lost[2]. He travelled along a difficult and perilous way, but he did not take notice of it, and he did not spare himself to save those who had gone astray. With the help of God he reached the place and the faithful people came out to him and received him with joy, and he blessed them all. He began to draw to him those who had gone astray and to feed them with spiritual and holy words. As a skilful physician, he did not speak to them with rough words, but as a father he spoke to them with gracious words in humility, as (it is written) in the Acts (Πρᾶξις) : "Repent ye (and) turn again, that your iniquities may be blotted out"[3]. Then he opened his mouth and spoke to them from the words of the father Anba Cyril (Kirillus) that which dispelled their errors. Many of those rejoiced and said : "Help us, O saintly father". When the Devil (Iblīs) observed this, he manifested himself in the midst of the holy congregation and he entered into an aged layman who was the first cause of the blasphemy and the leader in this matter. When he heard the mention of Saint Cyril (Kīrillus) and his homilies (mayamir) which are as an axe that cuts off all blasphemy, the aged, wicked and misled man came out and said with his tongue which is worthy to be cut out : "What have we (to do) with Cyril (Kīrillus)?" When the father heard the voice of that defiled one, as he denied the father Cyril (Kīrillus), he excommunicated him with the excommunication which he deserved. He excluded him from the portion of the Faithful, and (also) all who imitate his error.

This (man) began, when the father came to these places first, to burn the homilies (mayāmir) of the Fathers, the Doctors, which destroyed most of his disbelief and his errors. Among those which he burnt were the

[1] MS. has 'said'. — [2] Cf. *Luke* XV, 4*. — [3] *Acts* III, 19*.

of this affliction. Many of the Chrisitans (Naṣārā) denied (their Faith) on account of the little money which they possessed [1].

The father wrote letters to the bishops to inform them of his coming concerning the matter under discussion. Whosoever learned of the contents of his letters wept and said, as saith Paul (Bulus) : "I desire you that ye be not ignorant, my brethren (concerning the tribulations), because with increase they increase upon us [2] beyond our power, so that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God Who raiseth the dead; He will save us from our tribulations. Be ye also partners in praying for us" [3]. He (the patriarch) said in his letters: "My heart is well-disposed towards you all, for my joy is in you amidst these sorrows and trials. I write to you with abundant tears. Let not your hearts be afflicted, but know of my love towards you". When the bishops learned of the contents of his letters they were strengthened and they knew that he had delivered his soul unto death to redeem them and for the peace of the Church. They thanked and glorified God for the care of their shepherd for them.

Then they assembled in Fusṭaṭ of Cairo (Miṣr) [4], and when they learned of what (the tax) had been imposed on the father and on the Holy Church, they paid by instalments what (was imposed) on them, according to their ability, since they knew that the father had nothing, even as those before him, because he [5] did not pay attention to anything connected with perishable riches, until, for these reasons, and on account of (their) loss, the bishops had increased the diyarīah five times more than it was, (yet) they were not able to pay what had been imposed on the father. The land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) was in great straits. *The bishops, the monks and everyone became impoverished on account of the taxes which were established by this man who was more to be feared than all those who were before him. He used to write about the money, when it was sent

*fol. 121 r° thirteenth quire

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[1] *Lit.* of the paucity of the dirhams they had in their hands.

[2] This seems to be a rendering of the Coptic ϧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧϩⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲩϩⲣⲟϣ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲛ.

[3] Cf. II *Cor.* I, 8*, 9*, 10*, 11*.

[4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

[5] *Lit.* his soul.

(the wālī) : "Lo, the patriarch has already come!" When it was mornnig, and he (the wālī) sat in the Dīwān, he had our father the patriarch and his secretary Menas (Mīnā) brought in, since he (Menas) had not left him even for a day. When he (the wālī) saw them both and observed the grace of God which was upon [1] him, he said to them both with soft words : "Where have you two been during this long time? Now that thou hast come freely of thyself, therefore thou shalt not receive harm from me". Then he left them both for that day, and he did not speak with them. After three days, our saintly father went to him (the wālī) to salute him, (and) he (the walī) then began to set for him snares of death on which he had meditated, and he said to him : "Know that taxes have been imposed upon all my provinces (wilāyah), except upon thee". The saintly father answered with humble words and said : "Whatever Your Highness commands I will do". It was his (the wālī's) custom to double the trials for people, if they opposed him in conversation, but if they kept silent and did not oppose him in conversation, he was just towards them. A tax of two thousand dīnārs a year was imposed on the Church. He (the wālī) said to our father : "Since thou hast come of thine own will, I will have regard for thee and I will be indulgent towards thee". Then he obliged him (to pay) a tax for the two years before his (the wālī's) arrival in Egypt (Miṣr). He imposed on him (a tax) for the monasteries of two thousand three hundred dīnārs, until there was collected for him that year seven thousand dīnārs. This was the beginning of the trial due to the high amount of the tax which he (the walī) imposed on the Church, the bishops and the monasteries which were in the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr.)

This was the year five hundred and seventy-eight of the Martyrs [2], and it was the third year of his (Shenouti's) patriarchate. The poll-tax (ǧizyah) for the Christians (Naṣarā) who were in the land of Egypt (Miṣr), which was two thousand dīnārs was raised four thousand dīnārs till it became six thousand dīnārs, so that (even) from a poor man who was scarcely able to live fifty dirhams a year were taken, so that the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr) and its provinces were in an uproar on account of the magnitude

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[1] *Lit.* before. — [2] *i. e.* A. D. 861-862.

sinned [1]. Of what is the Church of God guilty [2], that He should bring down upon it this great trial?" He did not cease to be a fugitive and a wanderer until the expiration of six months. When he saw that the wrath of this man did not abate, but (rather) increased, the father was prepared to give himself up for the sake of the Church and the bishops, and he said : "If a single man become poor, the whole place will not be disturbed on account of him, but if the whole place become poor, it will not provide for its inhabitants". So, wisely, he gave himself up for the sake of the Church. He went secretly from place to place, until he reached Cairo (Miṣr), and he entered in to the house of a faithful man, and he wrote a letter to this wālī, whom we have already mentioned, asking from him a letter of safe-conduct, that he might appear before him. On account of the abundance of his subterfuge and his cunning which was fathomless with regard to him, he (the wālī) wrote this letter : "If thou present thyself to me before any of those who are seeking thee in every place on my account lay hands on thee, thou shalt be free and shalt be released from the trial which I wished to bring down upon thee and the Church; but if any man seize thee and bring thee to me, then I shall do to thee that which I purposed to do against thee and more besides".

When our father learned of the contents of this letter of safe-conduct which was filled *with the poison of vipers, he was exceedingly afflicted, and he said : "What shall I do? If I present myself to him immediately, and a man see me and lay hands on me, then he (the wālī) will say : 'thou camest against thy will', and then he will bring down upon me his wrath". Then he remained steadfast in the hope of the Lord Christ, and he said, as David (Dāwūd) saith : "Should I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will not be afraid, for Thou art with me" [3]. Then he rose up in that state with the wretched clothes which were upon him, as if he were a monk, and he went out and walked in the street at night, until he stood at the door of that man (the wālī), through (his) strength of heart and (his) firm trust in God.

*fol. 120 v°

When the usher (ḥāǧib) saw him, he entered at once and said to him

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[1] *Ps.* L, 4*. — [2] *Lit.* what shall I do with the Church, etc. — [3] *Ps.* XXII, 4*.

Sometimes they travelled by ships, in the dress of monks, and sometimes they went on foot, and likewise the bishops were unable to shew themselves on account of the patriarch, their head and their leader. Owing to our father's journeying to all places, he suffered great fatigue.

This unjust man was considering what he should do to the Seven Monasteries [1], and to the patriarch and the bishops. By reason of the iniquity of his deed, he sent to every place his representatives, and they went to the stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) of the churches, and they brought what each one had of the vessels of the churches to be carried to him. They also demanded of the stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) the diyārīah [2] of the bishops to carry it to the Dīwān. Likewise, he laid hands on the churches of Egypt (Miṣr) and numbered the vessels which were in them, and he ordered that these (*lit.* the) churches which had them (the vessels) should be closed. It was not possible for them (the people) to receive the Eucharist (ḳurbān), except in one church. His lieutenants (nūwāb) seized the stewards (*οἰκονόμος*) in every place, imprisoned them, put them in fetters, and carried them to Cairo (Miṣr), so that they might estimate the diyārīah [2] due to the Dīwān. He determined (to spend) all his time in seizing the money of the churches, the bishops and the monasteries for the Dīwān. When he decided on this in the land of Egypt (Miṣr), the churches were oppressed and the bishops were afflicted, according to the saying of Zachariah (Zakharyā) the prophet : "There is a voice of the shepherds mourning; for (their) greatness is brought low" [3]. So with these holy monasteries, they imposed taxes on the fathers, the monks.

The patriarch fled from place to place in the cold, since it was the season of the winter, and he was afflicted and he wept for the Church and the bishops. He said (from the Psalm of) David (Dawūd) : "I only have

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[1] *i. e.* those of Macarius, John the Little, Pišoi, Barāmūs, the Syrians, John Kamé, and Abba Moses.

[2] *i. e.* the collection of alms given every year to the bishops or monasteries. The patriarch collected the diyārīah from each bishop.

[3] *Zach.* XI, 3*.

he was grieved and said : "May the Lord remove from His people all evil conspiracy, according to His wont!" He (Shenouti) knew what happened by reason of the grace which was in him, and he feared for the Church and the monasteries and their inmates. On his (the walī's) arrival in Egypt (Miṣr), he (the walī) laid his hand upon all the Muslims (Muslimīn), the Christians (Naṣarā) and the Jews (Yahūd), and he doubled the tax upon them. He raised (the tax) to another dīnār for every dīnār, and (then) he raised the dīnār (tax) to three, so that he filled the prisons in every place. He sent to the monasteries in every place to count the monks who were in them, and he demanded of them the tribute and the tax on the grass (ḥašīš) which is in the marshes (ἕλος)[1] and on the palm trees and the fruit trees planted in their dwellings.

*When this news reached our father Anbā Shenouti (Sanūdah), he wept bitterly and said : "O Holy Mountain, Wadī Habīb[2], which is the haven of erring souls, how hath Satan (Šaiṭān) raised up for thee this trial which hath descended upon the saints who dwell within thee! Now I know, indeed, that this is on account of my sins". *fol. 120 r°

This unjust man asked for the father (Shenouti), so that he might take him to accompany him and to stand guarantee for what belonged to this Wādī and to all the monasteries which are in the land of Egypt (Miṣr). When our father knew this, he said : "What shall I do with this man?" He feared to stand before him[3], for if he (the wālī) found him, he would be a cause of the destruction of the monasteries and the monks; and he determined to flee and he said : "Perhaps, if I am not found, he (the walī) will desist from these things which he has begun to do". Then he changed his appearance and his dress for a humble dress, and he blessed those who were with him, and he sent them to different places. He himself went to a place in which none knew him on account of the appearance which he had taken on, and a deacon who was his secretary followed him. They were wandering from place to place by water[4] and by land.

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(1) *i. e.* the marshes at the lakes in the Wadī'n-Naṭrūn.

(2) Cf. p. [1], note 2.

(3) *Lit.* his face.

(4) *Lit.* sea.

(they said) they would not be able to return. We, his (Shenouti's) companions, asked him not to send away these people after the long distance (they had come) and to cause them to waste their fatigues, (but) that he should absolve him (Elias). Then he wrote to them, saying : "He concerning whom you came is absolved". Their souls were content and they returned to their country rejoicing. The father (Shenouti) occupied himself with the rest of those who followed their inclination after the way of Satan (Šaiṭān).

It happened in those days, when Ǵaʿfar al-Mutawakkil was Khalif, that his son Muḥammad revolted against him, and al-Muntaṣir suddenly fell upon him and overcame him and took his kingdom. When he (the son) was appointed wālī, he dismissed all the wālīs who were in the time of his father and likewise Sulaiman ibn Wahab the wazīr who loved the father exceedingly. He sent to Egypt (Miṣr) a man known as Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Mudabbir [1], a violent and hard man in his deeds, who was feared by everyone and could not be overcome. He performed deeds which none had done before him. He remained in Palestine (Filisṭīn) for a long time and he afflicted the inhabitants of that country with hardships and trials. It was said that none was heard of like to him by reason of his perspicacity and of his access to the kings [2]. He used to adjust for them matters [3] which they did not understand. He was a stumbling-block for all who sat and discussed with him concerning the affairs of the State, and all who were in the kingdom desired to remove him from the king on account of this. Much taxation was due to him from the cultivation of his property (*οὐσία*), and they wished to try him, and they delivered his father to him, that he should take account to him, and he claimed from him (his father) all that was due to him without shame. He received from him (his father) what was in excess (of the debt), so that the kings marvelled and assigned to him from the current (expenditure) for the month six thousand dīnārs.

When our father, the patriarch, heard of his arrival in Egypt (Miṣr),

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[1] Finance minister, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[2] MS. A reads 'king'.

[3] *Lit.* chapters.

I knew at that hour, and so also at every hour in which he did this, that news of something would arrive.

It happened, indeed, *in those days that there came certain of the Muslim (Muslimīn) race (γένος) from Khorassan (Khurasān), and some soldiers went to Alexandria and asked for our father the patriarch. The faithful said to them : "What do you wish of him?" They said : "The children of Elias (Ilyās) who was walī, have sent us to him with money to pay to him, which their father took from the patriarch". The congregation learned that it was the money which the wālī of Alexandria took from the father, the patriarch Anbā Jacob (Ya'ḳūb), when there came forth blood from the silver chalice, when they wished to break it up [1]. They found him (Shenouti) at Sakha [2], and they came to him and informed him of the news, and how Elias (Ilyās), the wālī, on the day of his death had commanded his children to send this money which was such and such to the See of Alexandria, (saying) : "I took it at the time when I was wālī of it (Alexandria) from a patriarch whose name was Jacob (Ya'ḳūb). You shall ask for the patriarch of this time who shall have arisen in the place of him (Jacob), and you shall ask him to absolve me from my ban. Then the messengers who bear the money shall bring to you a certificate from the patriarch who shall sit (on the Throne) after him".

*fol. 119 v°

When the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) heard this, he did not occupy himself with this matter and he did not take the money at all. His hope was in the Lord Who is rich in mercy [3], and he uttered the saying of Paul (Būluṣ) : "What I count as a gain, I reckon as a loss for Christ, on account of Whom I lost all things and count them as nothing, that I might gain Christ" [4]. "For I know Him Whom I [5] have believed and I am persuaded (*lit.* my heart is agreeable [6]) that He is able to keep me unto the day of my death [7]" [8].

The aforesaid messengers did not cease to ask him (Shenouti) to absolve that man, as his (Elias') children had commanded them; otherwise,

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(1) Cf. *History of the Patriarchs, op. cit.,* pp. [583]-[584]. — (2) Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 410. — (3) Cf. *Ephes.* II, 4*. — (4) *Philip.* III, 7, 8*. — (5) *Lit.* we. — (6) This translates the Boh. ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲑⲏⲧ. — (7) The reading 'my death' has apparently resulted from a misreading of ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ (that). — (8) II *Tim.* I, 12*.

other, as the inhabitants of Athens (Atanās) said to Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle in the Acts (Πρᾶξις) : "What is this new doctrine? for thou bringest to our ears strange words" [1]. A man who knew the Holy Scriptures heard them, and their belief cast down his heart. Then this man went to the father, the patriarch, and informed him about what these two bishops said. He (Shenouti) was astonished and uttered a prophetic speech which was an excommunication of them (the two bishops). He spoke the parable which is written in the Gospel of Luke (Lūḳā) : "Think ye that these Galileans (Ǧalīlīn) were greater sinners than all the inhabitants of Galilee (al-Ǧalīl)? It is not so, but if ye repent not, ye will all perish thus. So also the eighteen upon whom fell the tower in Siloam (Sīluḥā) and killed them, (think ye that they were) greater sinners than the men of Jerusalem (Yarūšalīm)? Nay, I say to you, if ye repent not, ye will all perish like them" [2]. This is that the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), the patriarch, said, and the two bishops knew not that he thereby rebuked them and excommunicated them. The Lord Who knows sinners did a marvellous thing on account of his (Shenouti's) speech, for they (the two bishops) did not think to return to the True Faith, but to remain as they were. Vengeance befell them, and they died an evil and bitter death at Banā [3], which was known to everyone, before they reached their dioceses.

Now, O my beloved, it is incumbent upon us to preserve the True Faith without deflection, which is the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) rock, that we may be numbered with those who walked in the right way and have received rest. I say to you, I the sinner, the wretched one, the writer of this biography, that I saw with my own eyes many a time how that man (Shenouti) used to look up to the heaven and make the sign of the Cross on his brow and say : "O my Lord Jesus Christ, help me and be gracious unto me and visit me in Thy mercy". When I was looking at him attentively the first day, a wonderous thing appeared to me, that is, at that (hour) in which I saw him looking steadfastly up to the heaven and saying this, something happened and befell us, and he was anxious [4]. Then

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(1) *Acts.* XVII, 19*, 20*. — (2) *Luke* XIII, 2*, 3*, 4*, 5. — (3) Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 84. — (4) *Lit.* it occupied his heart.

indeed caught us in his net, and we were unable to save ourselves from him."

The father, the patriarch, Anbā Shenouti (Šanudah) performed a good deed, in order that it might serve as a censure on the bishops and others and on everyone who errs from the Faith, in that he caused these bishops of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿidīn) to stand up in the midst of the congregation of the fathers, the saintly monks, in the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār) on the Sunday of the Holy Easter (al-Fiṣḥ), and they (the bishops) made an obeisance (μετάνοια) to the congregation and asked them and besought them to pray for them and to pardon them for what Satan (Šaiṭān) had done to them through temptations. They declared and confessed : "We had blasphemed exceedingly [1] through the teaching of cursed Satan (Šaiṭān)." And they mentioned it (the blasphemy) word by word, so that everyone of the fathers who were present marvelled at their speech and prayed for them and blessed them and rejoiced at their conversion from the evil doctrine which Satan (Šaiṭan) had planted in their hearts; and the father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) likewise rejoiced and blessed them.

There was at that time [2] a wonderful speech which the father pronounced; it was as a prophecy and it was a terrifying matter. There were in the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳar) [3] on that day two bishops, one of them was the bishop of Samannūd [4] and the other, the bishop of Minyat Ṭānah [5]. When they perceived what the patriarch did with the bishops of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿidīn) who had erred with their flock, saying that the Divinity had died, the faith of these two bishops was also corrupted. When he (Shenouti) learned through the Holy Spirit (of their erroneous belief), he did this with the bishops of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) in their presence, in order that the faith of these bishops might be manifested at that time. They (the two bishops) considered and said one to the

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[1] *Lit.* a great blasphemy.

[2] *Lit.* hour.

[3] In the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn.

[4] Améllineau, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

[5] Id., p. 259.

nor to examine the commandments of this saintly father. But he (Satan) drew them to him on account of their love of the desires of the world and of their forsaking the instructions which lead to salvation; and they said with their tongue which deserves to be cut out and to be cleft, that the Nature of the Divinity died. They were all inhabiting a village of a district in Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿid) called al-Balyana [1] and the parts of the districts which were around it.

When the news reached our father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), the patriarch, he destroyed the strength of Satan (Šaiṭān) and uprooted the root of the thorns which he (Satan) had planted in the hearts of the disobedient, as it is said in the Acts (Πρᾶξις): "Judas (Yahūdhā) of Galilee (Ǧalīlī) rose up in those days and drew away after him many people. At the end he perished, and those who were with him were scattered" [2]. When those (people) spoke of this matter, it spread in that land (χώρα) and in the rest of the towns and villages, and the scantiness of the knowledge of their shepherds (the bishops) was manifest in those days. He (Shenouti) was troubled, and he was solicitous for them with great anxiety, that he might set aright the flock of the Lord (and) the Saviour Jesus Christ. (He considered) in what manner God brings back the members whom the Devil (Iblīs) has separated from the Church and from the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Faith. He wrote letters full of wisdom and commandments, and he manifested in them the teachings of our Fathers, the Doctors, to those whom Satan (Šaiṭān) possessed. When they (these letters) reached them (the inhabitants) and were read before them, they confessed the Orthodox Faith and the true religion, the religion of our Fathers, and they wrote and acknowledged their error, and they besought forgiveness for themselves and they believed in the True Faith. Then the bishops who were in those places presented themselves before the father, the patriarch, and prostrated themselves before him on the ground, saying: *fol. 119 r° "Thou hast enlightened our souls* and hast cured them of (their) sickness through thy life-giving teachings, and thou hast not left us and our people in error during this time. If thou hadst neglected us a little, we should have perished. The enemy of truth, the cursed enemy, had

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 93. — [2] *Acts* V. 37.

Holy Church have taught us. Everyone who separateth Him blasphemously and saith that God the Word did not suffer and did not die, but that it was the Man who suffered and died. in order to separate Him into Two, God the Word on the one hand, and the Man on the other hand, and maketh of Him Two Persons and Two Natures. each of which doeth that which pertaineth to its nature, wishing thereby to introduce the impure faith which is of Nestorius (Nasṭūr) and of the vile and filthy Chalcedon (Khalḳidūnī) Council into the Orthodox Faith. him the Catholic and Apostolic Church excommunicateth, and we flee from such and reject them. We excommunicate also those who separate God the Word into Two Natures after the Union which is incomprehensible. We confess rightly that God the Word accepted to Himself of His own Will the sufferings in the flesh. That there was perfect [1] Union in everything is not to be doubted, because the Two Natures which became One at the beginning did not separate at all through any cause by the Dispensation of the Word, because they are inseparable, and that at the time of the Passion [2] He accepted them (the sufferings) in His flesh; lest we should err as Photinus (Fūtinus) and Sabellius (Sabilyūs) who said in their impiousness that the Divinity withdrew and the Humanity was crucified. We excommunicate both of these and we flee from them and their impious sayings and we escape their worship of the Man." When these teachings reached the churches and the people, they rejoiced at them and they thanked God Who had bestowed on this father this grace which is the teachings of Cyril (Kīrilluṣ) and the saintly Fathers.

When the hater of good, Satan (Ṡaiṭān), perceived all these things and how the father Anbā Shenouti (Ṡanudah) manifested these teachings in the hearts of the faithful people in every place, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, he was exceedingly troubled and did not cease to prepare himself to fight against him (Shenouti) and to war against him. He (Satan) then put [3] into the hearts of people who were without understanding and filled with deceit and corruption, desirous of the substance of the world and its desires, an unclean people, to speak against God the Word and not to follow (the correct way of) reading the Holy Scriptures,

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[1] *Lit.* one. — [2] *Lit.* sufferings. — [3] *Lit.* cast.

when he passed by a small village near Maryuṭ[1], called Itris[2]—and this is its name until to-day—its inhabitants came out to him to receive his blessing and they said : "O our saintly father, the lake[3] is distant from us about one mile, and we do not come to it, except after great fatigue". He erected for them in that district (naḥiyah) a well, and there flowed for them water from it, and he blessed it and sanctified it, (and it was) fresh[4] water, and they provided themselves and their beasts with it. Besides this, he (Shenouti) did not give up his care for the Festal (*ἑορταστική*) Letters which were full of grace and spiritual teaching, so that everyone might be nourished by them.

It happened in the second year of his being on the throne, during the days of the Holy Fast (Lent) that he wrote a Festal (*ἑορταστική*) (Letter) which was full of every grace, and, when he came to the mention of the *οἰκονομία* (?)[5], the Dispensation of the Word of God, he said : "We believe in this wise that, at the end of time, when God wished to save our race (*γένος*) from bitter servitude, He sent His Only Son into the world, incarnate of the Holy Spirit[6] (and of Mary (Maryam) the Virgin), having a body equal to us in all things, save in sin. He is possessed of a soul incomprehensible, and He made the body one with Himself, without alteration, confusion or separation, but of One Nature and One Substance and One Person. He suffered in the flesh for us and died and rose from the dead, according to the Scriptures. *He ascended into heaven and sat at the right of the Father. If we say that God suffered for us and died, we should understand now in faith that He suffered for us in the flesh and that He is impassible, and that He is One, even as the Fathers of the

*fol. 118 v°

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[2] Cf. H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte*, t. 25, p. 145 : Kôm el-Idris.

[3] *Lit.* sea.

[4] *Lit.* sweet.

[5] The two MSS. read فرنومنا, probably a mistake for قنومية. Cf. E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*. Paris, 1713, p. 305.

[6] The words روح القد[س] "The Holy Spirit" are written in the margin and possibly the rest of the phrase ومن مريم العذراء جسداً which MS. A gives was originally there also, but the margin is cut down and the writing is thus lost.

out the churches and the places in them which were weakened, that he might rebuild and renew them. He desired greatly to perform in his days memorials.

There was in Alexandria, in the place in which was the Cell (κελλίον) of the patriarch, its name in Greek (Yūnānī) being Ḳasṭūrīūn[1], a place in which the poor and those without support took shelter. The water which they had was bitterly salt, and it was far off from them, and, when they wished to transport it (the water) to them, they experienced great fatigue on that account. Necessity led them to drink of it, on account of the lack of fresh[2] water, for they used to leave it for some days in a vessel, until it became a little fresh, and then they used to drink of it. The father (Shenouti) thought a good thought, and he dug out for them a canal from the canal which al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allah Ğaʿfar had dug, until the water entered from it as far as Alexandria. Vessels began to arrive through it at the market-places, and people planted vines and gardens along it, as we have stated before. Then it (the water) descended until it formed[3] the mouth of a small canal and caused it (the canal) to run to the place mentioned before, and the water remained fresh[2] and good for them. Good works were before him, even as the spider, (for) God the Exalted facilitated them for him and helped him to accomplish them.

Meanwhile, he (Shenouti) made for the city of Alexandria channels under the ground, in order that they might make their (the inhabitants') wells sweet and that they (the inhabitants) might transfer from them (the wells) the water to the cisterns which they possessed for fresh[2] water. This was what the father, the patriarch Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) did. Then he made also a large fountain (piscina) for those who were weak and poor whom we have already mentioned. He appointed a man to fill that fountain (piscina) which he had made with an instrument, and had made it, so that they might drink from it, since they were not able to fill it, on account of the length of the well-rope[4]. He also made good ditches and places for water and cisterns. Likewise,

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[1] See p. 16, note 3. — [2] *Lit.* sweet. — [3] *Lit.* open. — [4] Cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, رشاء, a rope [or well-rope], *i. e.* the rope of the bucket.

and honour to the See of the illustrious father, Saint Mark (Marı Markuṣ)".

When the letters reached him (Shenouti) and he had read them, he rejoiced at them, and he ordered the people to read them in the city of Alexandria. They (the people) rejoiced and glorified God and magnified Him, when they heard (these letters). They praised the father, Anbā Shenouti (Šanudah), on account of his works and his teachings. Some bishops of his See went to their rest. The news of his (Shenouti's) letters and his commandments and his teachings concerning the suppression of simony (*χειροτονία*) spread, and those who hoped to receive it (ordination) for money, a serious [1] affair happened to them, but they did not shew it. He (Shenouti) ordained, by the grace of God which was come upon him, many people who fought for the Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*) Faith, and who were worthy. The Lord was his helper and his concealer, even as (He was to) David (Dawūd) the prophet. He commanded and enjoined upon everyone whom he consecrated that none of them should accept any gift * from those he ordained, but that they should be like unto him in this grace. He said to them : "Paul (Būluṣ) of the perfumed tongue said : I press on, if so be that I may apprehend that for which I am apprehended [2]. Be like unto me, O brethren. I have made my soul a standard for you". The chiefs and the wālīs, on account of the beauty of his manner of life, his countenance, his faith and his works, revered him and honoured him and satisfied his needs ; and the people were (living) in hope, safety and security.

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Then he (Shenouti) occupied himself with the affairs of the monasteries of Upper Egypt (Ṣaʿīd) and its bishops, and he desired to know their condition and how they were. He journeyed to them and came to their country. They rejoiced at his coming to them, and they blessed God, even as David (Dāwūd) the prophet, and even as the Children of the Jews (Awlād al-Yahūd) when they praised the Lord on His entry into Jerusalem (Yarušalīm) riding on an ass. He (Shenouti) instructed them and organized them, and they heard from him his teachings and commandments. He returned and came to the city of Alexandria, and he began to seek

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[1] *Lit.* great. — [2] *Philip.* III, 12*.

Then he (Shenouti) returned to the city of Alexandria and set about fulfilling the canonical (*κανών*) law (*νόμος*) which relates to the See of Antioch (Anṭākīah). He wrote a magnificent synodical (*συνοδικόν*) letter at which everyone marvelled, and he despatched it by two saintly bishops, one of whom was the bishop Malunulās[1] of Dāwikh[2], and John (Yūḥanna), bishop of Dīūsīā, and with them were priests, and he sent them to the father John (Yuḥanna), patriarch of Antioch (Anṭākiah). This synodical (*συνοδικόν*) (letter) contained abundant teaching from the sayings of Cyril (Kīrillus) and Athanasius (Atanasiūs) and Severus (Sawīrus) and Dioscorus (Dīskurus) and the company of the fathers. When he (John) had learned of it (the letter), on receiving it through the fathers, the bishops, he found it full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he rejoiced exceedingly and glorified God. He learned from the discourse of those who came to him of the constancy and certainty of the happy union and the strong foundation between his See and the Evangelical See of Saint Mark (Mārī Markuṣ) the Evangelist. Then he published this (news) in all his churches, near and far. He blessed God and wrote to him (Shenouti) an answer, as was requisite. He caused them (the bishops) and those with them to depart with great honours. He also wrote a letter in which he thanked Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah), rendering honour to him and paying him his respects, and praising his works which he achieved in the Church of Egypt (Miṣr). He said in his letters thus : "Who can declare, even a little, the honours of which thou art worthy, O father? for the ranks (*τάγμα*) of the Heavens cease not to praise thy faith, because thou hast set thy hope in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the basis of the worship of idols thou hast cut off from the Church[3]. Through the grace of the Holy Spirit the fortifying of it shall be upon thee and upon the trees which thou hast planted that they may grow good fruit, a hundredfold, sixty and thirty[4]. Glory

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[1] According to E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (Paris, 1713), this name is Paul.

[2] MS. has دوخ which is struck out and replaced by داوخ.

[3] To be understood in a figurative sense.

[4] Cf. *Matt.* XIII, 8*.

him in all his affairs, so that the odour of his savour spread in all places.

O my brethren, there was a village among the villages of Mareotis (Maryūt)[1], called Būkhabša[2] in which there were evil and impure people called "Quartodecimans". They were a people who denied the Passion and (they declared) that the Lord did not accept the Sufferings in the flesh, but that they were as a dream. When these (people) heard of the grace of the Holy Spirit which flowed from our father Anba Shenouti (Šanūdah), the patriarch, they came to him in great joy, saying : "O father, give us the seal of thy faith and the confession of thy commandments, that we may believe therein from henceforth". When he (the patriarch) perceived their faith, he welcomed them with joy, and took them unto him, and gave to them the seal[3] of Holy Baptism, and led them to the confession of the Faith of our steadfast fathers. They confessed (their errors) and anathematized Gaianus (Aghanus) and Origen (Aurīğanus) and Apollinarius (Bulīnārīūs) and Julianus (Yulyanus) of Halicarnassus (Walifarnasaus) and all who believe in their filthy belief. He consecrated for them a church and priests, and declared to them the evidence of Paul (Būluṣ) : "The grace of God is coming upon you[4], for (whereas) ye were the servants of sin, ye became obedient, and became free from sin and servants of righteousness"[5]. He taught them this, the first offering (ḳurbān) of his holy teachings, which he presented to the Lord.

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[2] This village is mentioned in the Chronicle of Abû'l-Makārim Sa'd Allah ibn Ğirğis Mas'ûd, on fol. 103ᵛ of the unique MS. of this Chronicle which is in the possession of G. Philotheus 'Awaḍ of Cairo. The second part of this Chronicle is wrongly ascribed to Abu Ṣāliḥ the Armenian (cf. B. T. A. Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*).

[3] *i. e.* the σφραγίς, the Sacrament of Confirmation.

[4] This rendering is due to an incorrect reading of the Bohairic text : ⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ϣⲏⲡ lit. "grace to God is taken" = "Thanks be to God". It is possible that the Coptic text from which the Arabic is here taken contained the same error ϣⲱⲡⲓ for ϣⲏⲡ as is found in MS. B recorded by G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect*, vol. III.

[5] Cf. *Rom.* VI, 17*, 18.

silver to the Apostles (Ḥawāriyūn) and besought from them the grace of the Holy Spirit"; and he (the patriarch) said : "It was the will of the Apostles (Ḥawāriyūn) that none should do this, lest he should hear the voice which Simon (Sīmūn) heard (namely) : Thy silver shall be with thee unto destruction, because thou thoughtest to acquire the gift of God through money"[1].

Then this (patriarch) who was worthy of every grace wrote this, in order that everyone might rely upon this initial (formula) to guide them to the salvation of their souls. Moreover, he laid upon the faithful neither to act with fraud and deception nor to seek with cunning by means of a gift in any way whatsoever ordination (*χειροτονία*), lest their fate should be that of Ananias (Ḥanānyā) and Sapphira (Ṣafīrā), his wife, who lied to the Holy Spirit, and Peter (Buṭrus) the Apostle (Salīḥ) caused them both to die.

When they heard this speech full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, namely, the Christians (Naṣārā) in the land of Egypt (Miṣr), (and) they heard of his letters addressed to all the bishops and likewise of his letters to the See of Antioch (Anṭākīah), they rejoiced at this teaching which troubled the Devil (Iblīs) and his hosts, and they blessed God, beseeching His mercy and thanking Him on account of His raising up for them such a good shepherd who put to shame Satan (Šaiṭan) by these deeds. He (the patriarch) spake before the Lord, weeping : "Thou hast said in the Gospel of Luke (Lūḳā) : Which of you intending to build a tower... and was not able to finish it[2]. What king desiring war against another king[3]. The remainder of the chapter is known to the learned. Now I, the powerless (and) wretched (one), desire to go to mine adversary to agree with him[4], because I am not able to meet him. * Grant to me, O Lord, Thy succour, Thy power and Thy strength as envoys, that I may go forth to meet mine adversary and him who stands against me, and mayest Thou cause him to perish from out of the Church". He (the patriarch) spake many words such as these from the Psalms of David (Dāwūd) and from the other (Scriptures). The Lord was with

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[1] *Acts* VIII, 20. — [2] *Luke* XIV, 28*, 30*. — [3] *Luke* XIV, 31*. — [4] Cf. *Matt.* V, 25*.

is the sin which Thy Church hath committed. (O) God? Wherewith hath she angered her Lord that I have been set over her, I (who) am a vile sinner? She (the Church) hath been covered with shame through me". Much more than this he used to say, and he continued weeping. All who heard him (tried to) console and comfort him, but they could not. He was wont to say : "Think not that I shall give up this weeping while I remember my sins and mine iniquities." Everyone marvelled at his humility and at the blessing of his accession (to the patriarchal throne) which was full of grace and dignity. The Name of Christ was in his mouth, (and) he uttered it at all times, even as a child whose eyes are towards his mother. On account of his humility he trusted not in anything, save in the Name of the Saviour Jesus Christ, and he completely relied upon Him, and he remembered the saying of Paul (Bulus)[1] the Apostle to the Jews (Yahūd) in the Acts (Πρᾶξις) where he says: "There is not another in which is salvation, and there is not a name under the Heaven given to men through which is their salvation, except by it"[2].

The father Anbā Shenouti (Šanūdah) wrote[3] an initial (formula) in his letters, (which signified) that the salvation of everyone is through the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God in truth. This (Name) was his hope, and by reason of this He in Whom he trusted made easy his affairs. When he wrote[3] this initial (formula) in his letters[4], it was approved by the fathers, the bishops, and the faithful archons (ἄρχων) (who used it) in their letters, as also the children in the schools. He (Shenouti) also wrote letters on precepts to all the provinces of the Evangelist Saint Mark (Mārī Markus) and ordered them to pray for him, that Satan (Šaiṭān) might not prevail over him in what he did in all his affairs. Men were astounded at this deed, and the angels of the Heavens and the Lord of the angels rejoiced at it, not to speak of the people who were under his jurisdiction. He used to pray and to say : "Do not recall (by your actions) the fate of Simon (Sīmun) the sorcerer who offered his

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(1) *Sic.* read Peter.

(2) *Acts* IV, 12 ; a fairly literal rendering of the Bohairic.

(3) *Lit.* made.

(4) *i. e.* the formula IC XC YC ΘC.

their voices grew louder, for God had chosen him and desired to appoint him as a shepherd of this weak people. The bishops and all who were in the church rejoiced and said : "Blessed is he who cometh in the Name of the Lord. The light of the Lord hath shone upon us"[1]. They bore him in haste to Alexandria that he might be consecrated there. When they drew near to the city, a great (concourse of) people came out to receive him and they entered with him in glory and honour. The old men, the monks of the Wâdi Habīb[2], accompanied him, on account of their great faith in him. This was on the eleventh day of Ṭubah[3], and it was a day on which there was heavy rain. All who were in Alexandria blessed the Lord and said : "In truth, God manifesteth much fruit, as (it is said) in the Acts (Πρᾶξις): He did good and (wrought) righteousness and rained upon them the rain of favour and gave them fruit"[4]. They appointed him patriarch on the thirteenth day of Ṭûbah in the year five hundred and seventy-five of the pure Martyrs[5]. * He was from the village known as al-Batanun[6]. Certain good people brought him up as Timothy (Ṭīmâtaus), and he afterwards went to the old man, the saintly Anbā Joseph (Yusāb), the patriarch, whose spirit came upon him from the beginning until now, as I have previously mentioned.

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Hearken now, O my beloved, to what this father, the patriarch Anba Shenouti (Šanûdah) did, when he sat upon the throne of Mark (al-Markuṣī). His speech was in accordance with his humility. His tears (flowed) at all times before everyone, and if any consoled him he would say : "When I consider the glory of the Bride of Christ, which is the Church, and her beauty and her spiritual sublimity and then remember my own wickedness, I do not give up sorrowing and weeping within myself[7], and I say : "Who is he who thinks (that) this is so? What

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[1] *Ps.* CXVII, 26, 27*.
[2] Cf. p. [1], note 2.
[3] *i. e.* the Feast of the Epiphany.
[4] Cf. *Acts* XIV, 17*.
[5] *i. e.* Sunday, 8th January, A. D. 859.
[6] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
[7] *Lit.* between me and my soul.

(Sarğah)[1] in the Ḳaṣr aš-Šamʿ[2] for what they purposed to do. When they came together, a miracle was manifested to all of them, and they declared with one voice, swearing : "There is none worthy of this degree, except the steward (*οἰκόνομος*) of the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār)". All of them said : "He is worthy, he is worthy, he is worthy in truth[3]. This is the man whom God hath chosen for this degree". Immediately, they went out to seek him. The archon (*ἄρχων*) Abraham (Ibrahīm) said to them : "O my blessed fathers, stay and consider"; for they were seeking him (thinking) that he was in Cairo (Miṣr) and they knew not of his going away, that he had journeyed in haste to his monastery. "Now I will bring him (Shenouti) to you on the plea that (you wish to) ask him about other people about whom he forgot". Then he (Abraham) wrote immediately to the man who was worthy of grace in this matter, that the souls of the bishops and the Christian (Masīḥī) people were not agreed upon anyone of the people whom he (Shenouti) had pointed out to them. On account of his Christian love he (Shenouti) hastened and came to Cairo (Miṣr) on the first day of Ṭubah[4] and he entered the church of Abu Sergius (Sarğah)[1], while they[5] were assembled in it. He found them beginning the Liturgy[6], and the assembly were saying : "Worthy, worthy, worthy in truth".

When the assembly saw him, all of them cried out increasingly : "Worthy in truth is he whom the Lord hath chosen." They leaped towards him, seized him and put iron fetters on his feet. He cried out and wept, saying : "What is this that you are doing before the Lord? Do you think that I am worthy of this degree? Do not think this, and do not do it". He thought that he would escape them by this, but

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[1] Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884, vol. I, pp. 181-205.

[2] Id., pp. 155-181.

[3] The acclamation *ἄξιος, ἄξιος, ἄξιος* is used in the Consecration Service of bishops and patriarchs.

[4] *i. e.* 27th December.

[5] *i. e.* the bishops and the archons.

[6] Strictly speaking, the Anaphora.

journeyed to Cairo (Miṣr), so that they might assemble there and that their opinion might be one. When they arrived (there), they began to mention the names of a number of priests, monks * and laymen who were known for their purity of speech [1], chastity, learning and knowledge of the Divine Scriptures. They differed, however, in their opinions [2], and everyone of them wished for someone known to him, and those who were present testified to what they had learned of him. They uttered the saying which was among the Children of Israel (Banī Isrāyīl): "We have no portion in David (Dawūd) nor inheritance in the house of Jesse (Yassa)" [3]. They did not cease from these deliberations, and everyone answered for his friend.

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There was at that time in the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳar) a steward (*οἰκόνομος*) whose name was Shenouti (Šanūdah) whose virtues we have already mentioned. He built the church which is in the monastery of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) and other churches besides [4]. At that time he (Shenouti) was visiting Abraham (Ibrahīm) the archon (*ἄρχων*) on account of the tax on the property (*οὐσία*) of the church. When the fathers, the bishops, and the Orthodox (*ὀρθόδοξος*) people and the archons (*ἄρχων*) of Alexandria saw him, they rejoiced exceedingly in that he would take part with them in (their) counsels, since there was in him a holy spirit, and that he would cause them to know which man of the saintly fathers was fit for this degree. He mentioned to them certain people whom he knew for (their) chastity. After the archon (*ἄρχων*) Abraham (Ibrahīm) had settled the affairs of the steward (*οἰκόνομος*) about which he (the steward) had come, he (Shenouti) went in haste to the desert, on the night of the twenty-seventh of Kyahk, his object being to arrive in time for the Glorious Nativity [5] in his church. On the morrow, the assembly came to the church of Saint Abū Sergius

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[1] *Lit.* tongue.

[2] *Lit.* saying.

[3] *II Kings* XX, 1*

[4] Cf. B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs,* in *P. O.,* t. V, fasc. 1, pp. [652]-[654].

[5] *i. e.* Christmas Day.

on the twenty-first day of Hatūr, in the evening, in the year of the righteous Martyrs five hundred and seventy-five [1]. They placed his body in the church which he had built, and he received the crown with his sainted fathers, the virtuous fathers, in the land (χώρα) of the living. Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, One God, now and at all times and unto the eternity of eternities [2]. Amen.

The twenty-second biography of the biographies of the Holy Church. Shenouti (Šanūdah) the patriarch who was steward (οἰκόνομος) [3] and he is the fifty-fifth of the number of the fathers.

We begin now, O my brethren who believe in Christ, to record what happened after the saintly father, Anba Cosmas (Ḳuzma), went to his rest, that it may be (a means of) profit and hope for the souls of the faithful.

When the father, Anba Cosmas (Ḳusmā), went to his rest, the fathers, the bishops, and the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people assembled at the city of Alexandria in the month of Kyahk in the year five hundred and seventy-five of the pure Martyrs [4], and they began to think of who was fit for this degree and worthy of sitting upon the Apostolic throne. The bishops made their choice without consulting either the priests or the archons (ἄρχων) of the city of Alexandria and Cairo (Miṣr). Thus the priests and the archons (ἄρχων) had no part with the bishops (in the election). They knew not, however, that the Lord had appointed him whom He had chosen and known, as it is written : "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain" [5]. When they had spent a long time about this, the bishops and the people of Alexandria came together and

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[1] *i. e.* 17th November, A. D. 858.

[2] MS. A. adds : saying all together, Amen, Amen, Amen *Kyrie eleison*.

[3] Of the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn. A short biography of this patiarch is given in the 'Synaxarium', cf. *P. O.*, t. XVI, fasc. 2. pp. [973]-[975].

[4] *i. e.* A. D. 858.

[5] *I Corin.* III, 20.

At that time an overseer (nāẓir) called Solomon (Sulaimān) arrived in Egypt (Miṣr). On his arrival, Macarius (Maḳārah), one of the two archons (ἄρχων) died. As regards Abraham (Ibrahīm), he continued to perform good deeds and did not cease to do so, and he took charge of the affairs of the Church and undertook the affairs of the father, the patriarch, and he did in like manner with the bishops of the land of Egypt (Miṣr) and with the monasteries. He devoted himself to them with regard to their means of existence, and he satisfied their needs out of his great love for Christ and by reason of his position among the walīs. He knew that of necessity the Enemy [1] would bring down afflictions upon the churches, as is his custom to do in every age and at every time. The Lord Jesus Christ the Merciful One does not cause anyone to be afflicted beyond the power of his endurance and what he is able to bear, as saith the Apostle Paul (Bulus) [2]. God wished to take the father Cosmas (Ḳusma) to Him and to give him rest from this transitory world and to translate him to the dwellings of the righteous. He (the patriarch) went to his rest and committed his spirit into the hands of the Creator in tranquillity and peace. The duration of his occupation of the Evangelical throne was seven years and five months.

When this father fell sick of the illness which caused him to go to his rest, he went to a district (nāḥiyat) of the provinces of Lower Egypt (Asfal al-'Arḍ) and built there a church. This district (nāḥiyat) belonged to the diocese of Sakha [3], and it was called Dinūšar [4]. The church was dedicated to [5] the Saint and Martyr Ptolemaeus (Ibṭulmāus) [6], and he remained there alone so that he might complete the building of it. His illness, however, became more severe, and he returned to the dwelling in which he lodged at Dinušar [4]. Here he went to his rest

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(1) *i. e.* Satan.
(2) Cf. *I Corin.* X, 13*.
(3) Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 410.
(4) Id., p. 143.
(5) *Lit.* after the name of.
(6) This Saint is commemorated in the 'Synaxarium' on the 11th Kyahk, cf. *P. O.*, t. III, fasc. 3, p. 350.

dried up, and there was no water in it, and its (Alexandria's) inhabitants were in great straights on account of this. No ship could reach it (Alexandria) except at the time of (the inundation) of the Nile.

When the king Ǧaʿfar al-Mutawakkil learned of this, he ordered the aforesaid sea to be dug out from its beginning to the interior of the city (Alexandria). Then it (the water-way) filled with water, since the river[1] Nile flowed (into it), and large vessels were able to enter it and to cast anchor in the centre of the city, and the bridges over it (the water-way) were repaired. When it was filled, (the water) flowed out of it into the salt sea[2]. The souls of the inhabitants of Alexandria and of the strangers who came to it found rest, and ships and merchants multiplied in it. The people planted vines and gardens along the canal, on account of the abundance of the water, and in the interior of their dwellings as well as outside the city, for its (Alexandria's) earth is a good and holy earth bearing fruits. The people restored the dwellings, in the ruined (district) until they reached with their rebuilding the place which is called Mamṭarmūr[3], the place in which there is the cell (κελλίον) of the father, the patriarch. They (the people) glorified God for the graces which they perceived that (He had bestowed) upon them, and they prayed for the king Ǧaʿfar al-Mutawakkil.

The father, the patriarch, Anba Cosmas (Ḳusmā) was living in the town known as Damīrah[4] in quietness and peace during (these) days. The archons (ἄρχων) of Cairo (Miṣr) were taking charge of his affairs and bearing his burden *and they did not let him be in need of (the help) of anyone of the people, or of what (was necessary) for the support of his state and his cell (κελλίον) or of his sons and his pages.

*fol. 116 r°

These great graces occurred at the end of his days, when his term was drawing to a close. The Christians (Naṣarā) who had been driven away from Egypt (Miṣr) returned to it again, when they heard of the graces which had been bestowed upon them. The affairs of the Christians (Naṣārā) went well.

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[1] *Lit.* sea. — [2] *i. e.* the Mediterranean Sea. — [3] The Greek name of this place seems to be Ḳasṭūriūn which is mentioned on p. 27. — [4] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

Ġaʿfar al-Mutawakkil ʿala Allah. This king turned his attention at that time to the cities which were in the land of the East and (in that part of) Egypt (Miṣr) which is near the river [1], because the Greeks (Rum) had plundered Damietta (Dumyaṭ) [2] in his day. Then he gave the money for the expenses of building the walls at Tinnīs [3] and Damietta (Dumyaṭ), as also at the great city of Alexandria, and for all the works at al-Burullus [4], Ašmūn [5], at-Ṭinah, Rosetta (Rašid) [6] and Nastaruh [7], through fear of the Greeks (Rūm). He completed them as was necessary, and erected fortresses and many memorials in the land of Egypt (Miṣr) in place of what was done to the Christians (Naṣāra), and (he practised) justice and upright rule.

There was in Egypt (Miṣr) a ḳāḍī far from being unjust, who judged uprightly, and he was not a hypocrite, and his name was al-Ḥarith ibn Maskin [8]. He replaced the unjust ḳaḍi whom we have mentioned before, and whom God had requited for what he had done to the father Anba Joseph (Yūsab), the patriarch [9]. These three mutawallis of that time, the wāli, the nāẓir and the ḳaḍi were all alike in justice and good deeds towards everyone, so that people forgot the trials and hunger which they had experienced, according to the saying of Ezechiel (Ḥizḳyal) the prophet : "They shall know that I am the Lord, when I have broken the yoke which is upon them, and I will deliver them out of the hand of those that hate them. And the nations shall not spoil them, and the wild beasts of the earth shall not devour them; and they shall be hopeful, and there shall be none to make them afraid. And I will raise up for them a plant of peace, and they shall no more perish (with hunger) upon the land" [10]. God did this thing for the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr) in the latter days, the days of Ġaʿfar al-Mutawakkil, and He did likewise for the great city (Alexandria), so that all who dwelt in and around it enjoyed security. Now the sea [11] of Alexandria had

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(1) *i. e.* the Nile. — (2) Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 116. — (3) Id., p. 507. (4) Id., p. 104. — (5) Id., p. 182. — (6) Id., p. 404. — (7) Id., p. 275. (8) Minister of Justice from A. D. 851-856. — (9) Cf. *History of the Patriarchs*, in *P. O.*, t. X, fasc. 5, p. 659. — (10) *Ezechiel*, XXXIV, 27*-29*. — (11) A water-way connecting the Nile with Alexandria.

mutawallī did this on account of his great hatred for the Christians (Naṣārā), and he made a list of all the towns and directed that a large number of men from each village should sail in the ships. Moreover, he did not give to them any weapon, and he examined their circumstances, and he who was found without a weapon, or in whose weapon there was a defect, he (the mutawallī) would ill-treat him and force him to pay a fine and compel him to buy military equipment wherewith to fight. So they would take people who were weak and who had not the strength to travel, and who had no knowledge of the art of sailing [1] or of fighting. These gave what they possessed to him who would travel in their stead. When they (the Christians) complained of the expenses which they had, and when they found a way to escape from these works and (to adopt) others, they did so [2]. Then he (the mutawallī) ordered that two dīnārs should be given to each of the Christians (Naṣārā), and that this should be increased to fifteen dīnārs for any Muslim (Muslimīn) who acted as substitute for a Christian (Naṣārā). *On account of the persecution which they (the Christians) suffered they ardently desired death; but the Lord, the Compassionate and the Merciful One, Who visits His people at all times, beheld (and) saw the sighing of His people and their weeping; and those days were not lengthened, but He (God) shortened them, and He shewed forth the abundance of His mercy upon the unhappy land of Egypt (Miṣr), and He heard the voice of the poor, as David (Dāwūd) the prophet saith: "He hath heard the voice of the poor and hath not despised His elect" [3].

*fol. 115 v°

When it reached the king [4] what this mutawallī had done in Egypt (Miṣr) and what he had done to the Christians (Naṣārā), and the straights in which they were, he sent and removed that evil wālī who had done this to the Christians (Naṣārā), and he sent another man known as Yazīd ibn ʿAbd-Allah [5]. This (man) dealt well with men, and the land of Egypt (Miṣr) was at rest. The merchants exposed (for sale) corn, and blessings and good things increased in every place, and affliction was removed from men. The souls of the inhabitants of the land of Egypt (Miṣr) found pleasure and saw many good things. This was in the days of

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[1] *Lit.* of the sea. — [2] *Lit.* went to them. — [3] Cf. *Ps.* LXVIII, 33. — [4] *i. e.* Ǧaʿfar al-Mutawakkil. — [5] Governor of Egypt from A. D. 856-867.

Martyrs [1], that this fearful sign appeared, namely, that all the monks who dwelt in the monastery of Abū Macarius (Maḳār) observed the picture of the Lord Christ, the Merciful One, which is in the church of Saint Severus (Sawīrus) which is upon the Rock [2], how its side opened and blood came forth from it. All who saw this blood feared and glorified God for His marvellous works. The God-fearing people who are worthy of being believed took of that blood in faith, and they placed it upon people who had divers diseases, and they were cured of their diseases immediately. The Lord desired to manifest a sign for the faithful, so that they might abound in hope in Him and in His pure Cross. He manifested in that year many wonders, namely, that the eyes of all the pictures which were in the Wadī Habīb [3], at the monastery of Abu Macarius (Maḳar) and elsewhere, gushed with tears like fountains of waters. They knew that this was on account of what the evil and unjust wālīs did in hiding away the Cross. These miracles caused them to be patient and strengthened them in all that befell them through the walīs and ḳāḍīs.

It was at that time that the walī ordered the building of ships in all the towns which were on the coasts, because it was at that time that the Greeks (Rūm) came to Damietta (Dumyaṭ) [4] and pillaged it and remained in it for three days, and they went away with captives from it and with its gold and its silver to the land of the Greeks (Rūm). On account of that there were built many ships of the fleet (*σΊόλος*), and every year they repaired those which were damaged and built new ones in place of those which were broken; and they sailed with them to the land of the Greeks (Rum) and made war on them (the Greeks). Much money was spent every year on the fleet (*σΊόλος*). As regards the Christians (Naṣārā), they sent them to the ships, and they did not pay them a single dirham for what they (the Christians) spent on their journey, nor (did they pay them any money as) provisions for the journey, but they provided a ration of food for them only, and forced them to observe this (rule). The

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[1] A. D. 852.

[2] For remarks on the probable site of this church in the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn, cf. H. G. Evelyn White, *op. cit.*, Part III (New York, 1933), pp. 35, 53.

[3] Cf. p. [1], note 2.

[4] This was in May, A. D. 853, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

Egyptians (Miṣriyyūn) feared him and they said : "God, indeed, was wrathful with us through this man and his father who was before him. What shall we do with regard to him?" The saying of Isaiah (Išaʿyā) the prophet was fulfilled : "Sinners and those who transgress the Law (νόμος) shall perish together, and they that forsake the commandments of the Lord shall be crushed, for they shall be ashamed" [1].

The trials increased each day for the Christians (Naṣārā) through this mutawallī, and his evil deeds increased each day. He who never grieved, grieved for the inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr), most of all for the Christians (Naṣāra). O my brethren, hearken to this, when the Cross of Christ was broken in every place *and no one was able to let it be seen, in order that Christians (Naṣara) might hold fast through seeing it and hope for salvation through it, and likewise, the sacred *nāḳūs* [2], the voice of which drives away Satan (Šaiṭan) and his hosts, and which rouses the sluggard to the remembrance of his God, (when) he (the mutawallī) ordered that it should be cut down, so that the saying of Paul (Būluṣ) the Apostle was fulfilled : "They chastise us and we endure and we are become as contemptible men" [3] and the Christians (Naṣarā) were tormented more than all this, until they denied their Faith and passed from life to death, hearken to what happened at that time, for it is an admonition to you, O brethren who believe in Christ, that you should know that the Lord Most High is terrible (and) fearful [4], and that He manifested His wonders, even as He did not conceal His might at the time when He was crucified by the disbelieving Jews (Yahud) who did not believe in the miracles they saw, as the rending of the veil of the Temple which was rent from the top to the bottom, and as the dead who rose from the graves, and as the rocks which were rent, and as the dividing of the day in twain. In like manner also, He caused His elect who believe in His Name to know His perfect mysteries, that everyone might know that He abases the nations that obey Him not.

*fol. 115 r°

It happened at the time of the coming of this odious man to the land of Egypt (Miṣr), in the year five hundred and sixty-nine of the pure

[1] *Isaiah* I, 28-29*. — [2] Cf. page 7, note 3. — [3] Cf. *I Cor.* IV, 12*-13*.
[4] Cf. *Ps.* XLVI, 2.

he (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ) had taken, except two men who were brothers. They had a residence, a beautiful building, inherited by them from their father who had spent much money on it. It was like a paradise (παράδεισος) and did not lack anything in the way of trees and fruits. It overlooked the river of Egypt (Miṣr)[1], and was known (by the name of) their father ʿAlī ibn Saʿīd al-Iṣfihanī. When he (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ) summoned to him these two men who were brothers and required of them the aforesaid residence, they said : "We will not take the price of it, nor write the deed (for its sale), but we present it to thee, and we will not go back on what we have said to thee, and God Who is exalted is our witness". And they said to him : "We will go out of it immediately, and leave it vacant for thee within three days".

He thought that God would ignore his wickedness against the two of them. They went out from his presence, and they removed what belonged to them in the residence, and they left it vacant for him, and he dwelt in it. This was the place in which he was afflicted with paralysis, and his hands lost their use. When he died, as we mentioned, the Egyptians (Miṣriyyun) stole the money and the property which he possessed. These two brothers then came to the residence, and stood at the door of it and said to the people : "This residence is ours with all that is in it, and this man took it from us by force". The Egyptians (Miṣriyyun) knew that this which they had said was correct, and no one contested (their right) to it. So they took possession of it and of what was in it, and they became rich, because of what they found in it.

He (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ) had a grown-up son as evil as his father, and even more so. He took[2] the place of his father. He stated that letters had reached him from the king (appointing him) to be in place of his father, after he had remained six months without being seen or his place (of residence) known, until he had prepared the letters (purporting to contain) the mandate of the Khalīfah.

When he was installed, he began to do evil, as his father, and he thought that he would take revenge on the Egyptians (Miṣriyyun) for what had been done to his father, his family and his children. The

[1] *i. e.* the Nile. — [2] *Lit.* set his hand on.

*fol. 114 v° * take hidden counsel : sow ye good seed and sow not among thorns, lest my wrath go forth, lest my wrath burn and be not extinguished''[1]. Thus did this befall this evil (man).

At that time, a letter from the king reached (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ) ordering him to return and to bring to him (the king) the money of Egypt (Miṣr) and what he had collected for him together with the account of the two lands (probably Egypt and the East) and of the Muslim (Muslimīn) secretaries whom he had employed since he had dismissed the Christians (Naṣāra). This happened through the providence of God, Whose Name is glorious. When he (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ) had learned the contents of this (letter) and had read it, he learned from it the bad opinion that the king had of him. He (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ) had married in Egypt (Miṣr) and had acquired concubines, and had built houses, and had been granted children (by God), and had received many countless blessings. Immediately, he was seized with paralysis, and the movements of his hands and his legs were arrested, and he died an evil death, a few days after this affair. They (the days) were counted by Theodore (Tādrus) the scribe who used to write the letters for his (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ's) predecessor. He (Theodore) had acquired great renown in his art, and had a beautiful handwriting, and his choice of words was praised by all who read them. He records that they were twenty-one days[2].

Most of the Muslims (Muslimūn) rejoiced at it (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ's death), since he had not raised their fortunes, but had reduced their sources of livelihood and had caused the merchants to lose their wealth, and had taken away from them by force the best dwelling-places which they possessed, and had taken them by violence. Whenever any dwelling-place pleased him, he would summon its owner and buy it from him and write the deed (for the sale) of this dwelling-place, and he would deliver to him (the owner) the money for it in the presence of witnesses at the time. After the sale had been concluded he would send and demand back the money, and no one got back the money from him which

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[1] Cf. *Jer.* IV, 3, 4.

[2] *i. e.* the time between the seizure with paralysis of Al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and his death.

Whose remembrance is exalted, and they besought Him not to abandon them.

As regards our father, the patriarch, when he saw the afflictions which had befallen the archons (ἄρχων) through that devil (Šaiṭān), and their unemployment and the taking away of their means of livelihood, and that it was those who were taking charge of the affairs of the Church, he was exceedingly sorrowful. Letters reached the father, the patriarch, from the faithful, beseeching him to pray for them. They wrote also to the pious fathers who are dedicated to God in the mountains and in the monasteries that they (the fathers) should continue to pray for them and for the faithful of Christ, that God might remove from them this distress and not forget them and leave them under His wrath and indignation. And the fathers, the monks, were continuing in prayer night and day to preserve the holy Name through which there is deliverance from punishment.

There was also at that time a Christian (Naṣrānī) man who went over to the sect of Islām with his children, and his name was Stephen (Isṭifan) ibn Anthony (Andūnah). The Devil (Iblīs) made him a vessel through which to speak. He (the man) remembered the faithful with every evil, and he said that Christians (Naṣārā) before this day did not put on garments with sleeves, but that they wore garments without sleeves, even as the monks did, whom they called their fathers, and if the fathers wore this (kind of) garment, there was all the more reason that their children should be like them. "O thou, the Šaikh Anbā Zachariah (Zikrī), if thou hadst not done this thing, they would not enter thy religion, nor obey in what thou desirest of them". He (the man) imagined that the secretaries would refuse to wear these clothes (garments without sleeves) and, (consequently), deny their religion, but the Lord, the Lover of mankind, made their counsel worthless, and He brought it to nought, as it is written in the Book of Job (Ayyūb) which is filled with wisdom : "Who subverteth the counsel of the wicked"[1]. Even so God did to this impious man and returned his counsel upon his own head, as Jeremiah (Irmyā) the prophet saith : "Return, ye who

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[1] *Job* V, 13*.

that they might not be deprived of the Eucharist (Ḳurbân). Grief and affliction befell the Christians (Naṣārā), and they said, as the Three Children said : "Thou hast delivered us into the hands of lawless enemies, hypocritical and contumacious, and to a king unjust, and the most wicked beyond all that are upon the face of the earth. And now we cannot open our mouth, for shame and reproach have befallen Thy servants and them that worship Thee : yet deliver us not up for Thy Name's sake" [1].

This tyrant did not cease to lay his yoke heavily upon the Christians (Naṣârâ) on account of the violence of his hatred of them, and he began to perform every evil thing against them. He dismissed the Christian (Naṣāra) ministerial secretaries from the dīwān of the Sulṭan and substituted Muslims (Muslimīn) in their stead. When he had performed all these things, even as he had done in the lands of the East, he commanded that Christians (Naṣara) and Jews (Yahūd) should dye their garments, and he placed over their doors the frightful pictures, which, as we have mentioned before, (he did) in the lands of the East. The subject of this picture portrayed a devil (Šaiṭân) which had many heads and faces with two canine teeth. It was placed above a picture representing a wild pig of very terrifying aspect. He ordered that no Christian (Naṣrâni) should ride upon a horse at all [2]. This that evil man did according to the thoughts of Satan (Šaiṭân), and for these reasons they (the Christians) forsook their religion. Many people could not endure (these conditions), and they did not trust in their God, but denied the Name of the Saviour in those days of adversity, and they forgot what is said in the Holy Gospel : "But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved. And this gospel (of the Kingdom) shall be preached" [3].

As regards the faithful secretaries who have been mentioned before, they were in great affliction and trouble on account of this one who was not a man, yet through the strength of their belief, when they were dismissed from their employment, they trusted in the mercy of God,

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[1] *Daniel* III, 32-34*. — [2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 39. — [3] *Matt.* XXIV, 13-14*.

the commandments of their law ($\nu \acute{o} \mu o s$), which, (however), he did hypocritically, so that they could say : "We have not seen anyone who has come to Egypt (Miṣr) and fulfilled the commandments of the religion of al-Islām as this (one)". On Fridays he used to go on foot with his army through the midst of Cairo (Miṣr) to the mosque for prayer [1]. He detested the Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Cross and those who clothed themselves with it. Then this odious man began to hide away any appearance of the sign of the Cross, that it should not be seen at all, and they began to break down completely every cross in the churches, and it was not permitted to any of the Christians (Naṣārā) to walk abroad with an emblem of the Cross. He vexed our religion, so that the Christians (Naṣārā) began to be unable to pray in the churches, except in a low voice, and if a man passed by a church, he would not have heard the sound of a word from him who was praying. They (the Christians) were forbidden to pray over a Christian (Naṣrānī) who had died [2], and the striking of the *nawāḳīs* [3] was prohibited. He (al-Ghair ʿAbd al-Masīḥ) became even as Diocletian (Dīḳladyānūs), and his deeds were as his. Not contented with this, he began to forbid the Christians (Naṣārā) (to celebrate) the liturgies, *and that they might not celebrate (the liturgy) at all, he ordered that (the making) of *nabīdh* [4] should be forbidden in all his province, especially in the city of Cairo (Miṣr), so that it was not seen at all, neither was it sold nor bought, and all those who dealt in it (*nabīdh*) became poor. His object in all this was that there should not be any wine with which to celebrate the liturgy. As there ceased to exist (any wine), the Christians (Naṣārā) began to take the wood of vine-stalks and to soak them in water and press them out, so

*fol. 114 r°

[1] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages,* London, 1914, p. 40.

[2] *i. e.* to hold funeral services.

[3] The *nāḳūs,* pl. *nawāḳīs,* = the semantron, a board, or flat piece of metal used as a gong in churches.

[4] *Nabīdh* is a fermented drink prepared from dates, raisins, or grain. Fermented liquid from dried raisins is allowed for the Eucharist, cf. C. Telch, *Epitome Theologiae Moralis universae,* Oeniponte, 1915, p. 232 : Validae consecrationis... Vinum de vite substantialiter incorruptum, i. e. liquor ex uvis maturis (etiam siccatis [Rosinen, v. Lehmkuhl II, n. 162]) expressus, substantialiter incorruptus.

Muslims (Muslimīn), namely Ġa'far al-Mutawakkil. He (al-Mutawakkil) brought down upon the churches in every place innumerable afflictions which were that he ordered all the churches to be demolished, and that none of the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) Christians (Naṣārā), Melkites (Malakiyīn), Nestorians (Nasṭūriyīn), or Jews (Yahūd) should wear white garments, but that they should wear dyed garments, so that they might be distinguished among the Muslims (Muslimīn). He ordered that frightful pictures should be made on wooden boards and that they should be nailed over the doors of the Christians (Naṣārā). He forced most of them (to embrace) al-Islām, and ordered that Christians (Naṣrānī) should not serve in the employment of the Sulṭān at all, but only Muslims (Muslimīn) and those who had gone over to al-Islām. In consequence of this, love and patience were diminished in the hearts of many, so that they denied the Lord Christ; some of them denied (Him) on account of the worldly positions which they loved, and others, on account of the poverty they suffered.

When Satan [1] learned that this defiled matter had been sown in the foreign lands (χώρα), he began to disseminate it in the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) by putting into the heart of al-Mutawakkil to continue extending it (the persecution). He (al-Mutawakkil) sent from himself to the land (χώρα) of Egypt (Miṣr) a man who was not a Christian (Naṣrānī), but a Pharisee (Farrīsī), named al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ [2] ibn Isaac (Isḥaḳ) [3], and he appointed him to be overseer of the taxes in Egypt (Miṣr) and to be governor. He ordered him to deal with the churches of Egypt (Miṣr) and the Christians (Naṣārā), even as he had dealt with the city of Baghdād and the East.

When he (al-Ghair 'Abd al-Masīḥ) arrived in Egypt (Miṣr) he began to bring down trials upon the Christians (Naṣārā), and he humbled them exceedingly with various afflictions, as he was instructed by Satan (Šaiṭan). The aforesaid man pretended before the Muslims (Muslimīn) to perform

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[1] MS. Hist. 1 and MS. A both have 'Sultān', which seems to be a mistake for 'Šaiṭān'.

[2] *i. e.* Not-a-Christodoulus.

[3] Muslim historians call him 'Anbasah b. Isḥāḳ. He was governor of Egypt from A. D. 852-856.

to them. Abraham (Ibrahīm) entered in his accounts the tax on the property (οὐσία) of the Church, and he paid it off from his own money, *and he did not allow anyone to speak with the father, the patriarch (about this matter). There was, by the grace of God, a body of the faithful which was in charge of the dīwān of the Sulṭān, and all of them devoted themselves to the Church earnestly and assiduously because of their Faith. They procured tranquillity for the patriarch, the Church and the faithful, and they lived in quietness and peace, and there was no trouble anywhere in those days. They continued the prayers and the liturgies, thanking God for what He had bestowed upon them, as David (Dawud) saith: "In the light of Thy countenance shall they walk: and in Thy Name shall they rejoice all the day, and in Thy truth shall they be exalted. For Thou art the glory of their strength, and in Thy truth shall our horn be exalted" [1].

*fol. 113 v°

Since this grace and peace continued, the father Cosmas (Ḳusma) began to occupy himself with the writing of a synodical letter (συνοδική) to the father John (Yūḥanna), patriarch of Antioch (Anṭakīah) [2]. He wrote it and sent it by the hands of the saintly bishops Anbā Severus (Sawīrus), bishop of Daluḥ [3] and Anbā Khaēl (Khāyal), bishop of al-Bašrubīn, and with them there were priests. When they reached him (John), he welcomed them with great joy and unity of love and faith. All the churches of Antioch (Anṭakīah) blessed the Lord, and they rejoiced to learn of his (Cosmas') safety and of the safety of the Church of Egypt (Miṣr) and her provinces. After some days, he (John) dismissed them (the bishops) with glory and honour, and he wrote (letters of) peace expressing love and unity, and he prayed in his letters that the Lord might cause this peace to continue.

It came to pass soon after this, that the hater of good (Satan) did not wait, but he began to sow [4] tares of evil in the heart of the king of the

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[1] *Ps.* LXXXVIII, 15*-17.

[2] *i. e.* John (III), A. D. 846-873.

[3] *Read* Dalūǧ; in Coptic ϯⲗⲟϫ. There is another Arabic form of this word, namely, دلاص, Dalāṣ, cf. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[4] *Lit.* throw.

paid to him (the patriarch) on the day of the feast that year, and he left (him) none of them. He (the amīr) was going to bring down afflictions upon the patriarch and to cause him to lose (his) wealth, and he ordered him (the patriarch) not to depart from Alexandria.

Now there were at that time two archons (ἄρχων) in Cairo (Miṣr), lovers of God. One of the two, whose name was Macarius (Maḳārah) ibn Joseph (Yusuf), was the secretary of the head of a dīwān and occupied a position among all those who governed Fusṭāṭ of Cairo (Miṣr)[1]. The other, Abraham (Ibrahīm) ibn Severus (Sawīrus), was the superintendent of the treasury, and was charged with collecting all the taxes on wealth, that he might bring them to the royal coffers. When news reached them (the two archons) of what had happened in the church of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Mīnā) and of what the father, the patriarch, had lost, they took counsel together wisely, and they came to the walī of Cairo (Miṣr), namely, 'Abd al-Waḥid ibn Yaḥya the wazīr[2], and they said to him : "We are sending to Alexandria to bring the patriarch here, that we may impose on him the tax on property (οὐσία), since he has been newly appointed these days". These archons (ἄρχων) who loved God did this thing, in order that they might find a means of getting the patriarch away from Alexandria and of delivering him from the hand of that amīr. Then the wazīr sent people, and he wrote that they should bring the father, the patriarch. When the amīr (of Alexandria) learned that this was on account of the taxation, he was unable to prevent him (the patriarch) from going. Having journeyed, he (the patriarch) reached Cairo (Miṣr), and he saluted the wazīr in Cairo (Miṣr). There was chosen for him a town of the eastern (part) of Egypt (Miṣr), known as Damīrah[3], all the inhabitants of which were Christians (Naṣrānī), and the father, the patriarch, dwelt there, on account of the afflictions that were at Alexandria. The two aforesaid archons (ἄρχων) took care of the affairs of the Church, and they caused the father, the patriarch, to be without anxiety obout the affairs of the Sulṭan, for the time was favourable

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[1] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

[2] Governor of Egypt in A. D. 851 (for one year only).

[3] Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

of the living. The length of his occupation of the throne of Mark (al-Markuṣī) was one year and five months. Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.[1]

THE FATHER ANBĀ COSMAS (KUZMA) THE PATRIARCH. AND HE IS THE FIFTY-FOURTH OF (THEIR) NUMBER[2].

When the father Anbā Khaël (khâyāl) went to his rest, there took (his) seat upon the throne, by the grace of the Holy Spirit and by the agreement of the fathers, the bishops, and the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) people of the city of Alexandria, Cosmas (Kusmā). He was a deacon of the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Makār), and a native of Samannūd[3]. And they assembled at the church and consecrated him patriarch on the fourteenth of Abīb in the year five hundred and sixty-seven of the pure Martyrs[4].

There was peace and tranquillity in the Church, but Satan (Šaiṭān), the hater of good, stirred up a thorn of evil and caused the Church to stumble. When, in that year, the feast of the martyr Saint Menas (Mārī Mīna)[5] drew near, the faithful people from the towns and the villages came together for it (the feast) to present their offerings (karabīn) and their prayers in that church which is the delight of all the Orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος). There came together there people in whom were devils (šayāṭīn), and one of them leaped upon and attacked another one similar to him, and they did not cease strangling one another until one of the two died. When the amīr, the wālī of Alexandria, whose name was Aḥmad ibn Dīnar, heard of this affair, he commanded that the father Cosmas (Kusmā) should be seized, and he took him and tortured him until he had received from him all the contributions which had been

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(1) Marginal note in red partly mutilated: "A copy (mentions) that he occupied... and this does not agree with... he went to his rest in the year... he went to his rest in the year seven(?)... of the Martyrs."

(2) A. D. 851-858. The throne was vacant 82 days.

(3) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris, 1893, p. 411.

(4) *i. e.* July 8th, A. D. 851.

(5) The feast of St. Menas is celebrated on the 15th Hatūr = November 11th.

the throne he displayed the learning that he had acquired from saintly, eminent and inspired teachers, so that every one marvelled at him and glorified God. He was weak in his body. Those who were appointed to collect the tribute forced him (to pay) the tax on property (*οὐσία*), and he experienced sorrows and trials. And it happened one day that he was weeping bitter tears, and he said : "O my Lord Jesus Christ, Thou knowest that solitude has been my aim throughout my life, and that I have not the power (to bear) these trials, since my body becomes weaker day by day. I know that Thou acceptest the prayer of those who are oppressed, and that Thou hast said : 'Call upon me in the day of thy trouble and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me' [1]. *fol. 113 r° *I beseech Thee, O Lord, to manifest unto me the sign of Thy mercy in this difficult time and cause me not to behold other trials, since I am unable to bear them." The Lover of mankind heard the prayer of that saint, for He knows the trials of all and hearkens to the saying of the Scriptures : "While thou art yet speaking I [2] will say : Here am I" [3]. It was during the days of the Fast [4] that he (the patriarch) went to the holy desert to accomplish the feast of Easter (Fiṣḥ), according to the custom of the fathers, the patriarchs. And after the feast of the holy Easter (Fiṣḥ) he fell ill, and the Lord Christ called him to Himself, and he went to his rest on the twenty-second of Baramūdah in the year six hundred [5] and sixty-seven of the righteous Martyrs [6]. Concerning him there was fulfilled the saying of the Psalm : "Thou hast granted to him the desire of his heart, and Thou hast not withheld from him the request of his lips" [7]. They placed his body in the church of Saint Abū Macarius (Maḳār) [8], and he received the crown with the Saints in the land (*χώρα*)

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[1] *Ps.* XLIX, 15.
[2] *sic.*
[3] *Is.* LVIII, 9*.
[4] *i. e.* Lent.
[5] *sic,* read 'five hundred'.
[6] *i. e.* April 17th, A. D. 851. In this year Easter fell on March 22nd.
[7] *Ps.* XX, 2.
[8] *i. e.* the church in the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wādi'n-Naṭrūn.

*THE TWENTY-FIRST BIOGRAPHY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HOLY CHURCH. *fol. 112 v°

ANBA KHAËL [1] (KHĀYĀL) THE PATRIARCH,

AND HE IS THE FIFTY-THIRD OF (THEIR) NUMBER [2].

When the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb) [3], the patriarch, went to his rest, the Lord wrought marvellous things among His saints, and He caused them to remember the father, the priest Khaël (Khayāl), who was hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος) of the monastery of Abū John (Yuḥannis) in the Wadī Habīb [4]. He was known to all on account of his continence, wisdom and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, for he had been the secretary of the late father Anbā Joseph (Yusab). Indeed, when he was a deacon he was suffering from illness for a long time, and he besought the father Anbā Joseph (Yūsāb) to let him go to the holy desert. By the will of God he was worthy to become hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος), after he had been (ordained) priest by the hand of the father Anba Joseph (Yūsāb). And they took him against his will, and they went with him to the great city of Alexandria, and seated him upon the throne on the twenty-fourth day of Hatur [5], when they were celebrating the commemoration of the patriarch and martyr Saint Peter (Mārī Buṭrus) [6]. And when he sat upon

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(1) In Coptic ⲭⲁⲏⲗ.

(2) A. D. 849-851. This biography starts at line 15 of the MS.

(3) For the biography of this patriarch, cf. B. T. A. EVETTS, *History of the Patriarchs*, in *P. O.*, t. X, fasc. 5, pp. [590] sqq.

(4) Cf. H. G. EVELYN WHITE, *The monasteries of the Wādī'n-Naṭrūn*, Part II (New York, 1932), p. 404.

(5) *i. e.* November 20th.

(6) In the *Synaxarium, Difnār* and *Book of the Ṭurūḥāt of the Saints*, Saint Peter the Martyr is commemorated on the 29th Hatūr.



TRANSCRIPTION OF ARABIC LETTERS.

a	= ـَ *fatḥah* and أَ initial	m	= م
ā	= ا medial and final	n	= ن
b	= ب	r	= ر
d	= د	s	= س
ḍ	= ض	ṣ	= ص
dh	= ذ	š	= ش
f	= ف	t	= ت
ǧ	= ج	ṭ	= ط
gh	= غ	th	= ث
h	= ه	u	= ـُ *ḍammah* and أُ initial
ḥ	= ح	ū	= وُ medial and final
i	= ـِ *kasrah* and إِ initial	w	= و initial
ī	= يِ medial and final	y	= ى initial and medial after *hamzah*
k	= ك	z	= ز
ḳ	= ق	ẓ	= ظ
kh	= خ	ʻ	= ع
l	= ل	ʼ	= ء *hamzah*

under the feet of him who reads in this holy book, that he may pray for him for the forgiveness of his many sins. He who will say anything, may the like be unto him. The completion of this pure book was on the blessed Thursday, the twenty-third of the Coptic month of Kyahk (in the) year one thousand four hundred and thirty-four (= A. D. 1717) of the Pure Martyrs. May God grant to us acceptation of their prayers. Praise be to God for ever and ever. Amen".

DESCRIPTION OF MSS.

MS. Hist. 1, Coptic Museum. 134 folios; 25-27 lines per folio; folios measure 24, 2 × 15 cm.; space occupied by writing 19, 8 × 13 cm.; part of the margin was cut off and consequently sometimes part of the marginal notes is lost. Small naskh hand; lines close together; titles in red ink; buff coloured linen paper; modern leather binding. The present text is contained in volume 1 of this MS. The original part of the MS. is XIVth century, and is contained in folios 24-100 and 102-132. Folios 1-23 and 101 are written in four different hands dating from the XVIIIth to the XIXth century.

MS. Hist. 13, Coptic Patriarchate (= *A* = *in the Arabic text* ا). 316 folios; 18-19 lines per folio; folios measure 29, 5 × 21 cm.; space occupied by writing 21, 5 × 14 cm. Rather large naskh hand; titles in red ink; linen paper; red leather binding. The text collated with that of the above MS. is found on the following folios : Khaēl I ff. 263v (original pagination 266v) ff. 264v, Cosmas I ff. 264v to 272r, Shenouti I ff. 272r to 316r (original pagination 319r). The Colophon on folio 316r reads :

TRANSLATION.

"Completed and finished is the second part of the biographies of the fathers, the Patriarchs of the See of Mark (al-Marḳusī)—may their prayers, and their intercessions and their blessings be with us and all the Children of Baptism. Amen.

Reward, O Lord, him who toiled, in the bosoms of our saintly fathers Abraham (Ibrāhīm), Isaac (Isḥaḳ) and Jacob (Yaʿḳūb) in the Paradise (παράδεισος) of delight. The wretched copyist bends his sinful head

All the titles and professions have not been translated: they have only been transliterated; thus, wālī, amīr, nazir, ḳadī, etc.

In the case of Biblical quotations, an asterisk added to the numbers in the footnotes shows that the quotation does not fully agree with the Biblical text.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the Society of Coptic Archaeology for its willingness to undertake the printing of this Part of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*.

Yassā ʿAbd Al-Masīḥ
and
O.H.E. Burmester.

PREFACE.

The present Part comprises the biographies of the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Khaël II, Cosmas II and Shenouti I, who occupied the See of Saint Mark from A. D. 849-880.

The Arabic text has been taken from MS. Hist. 1 [1] in the Library of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo. This text has been collated with that of MS. Hist. 13 [2] in the Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo, and the variant readings have been duly recorded.

The English translation has been made as literal as possible in order that readers who depend on it alone may yet form some idea of the peculiarities of mediaeval Christian Arabic.

All Proper Names are followed by a transliteration of their Arabic form; thus, John (Yūḥannā), Shenouti (Šanūdah) [3]. Where, for the sake of clearness, it has been found necessary to add words not found in the Arabic text, these have been enclosed in brackets; thus, they (the priests), he (Shenouti). In the case of the Greek words which appear in the Arabic text in a transliterated form, the original Greek word has been added in brackets; thus, ضورون 'oblation' (δῶρον), كوره 'land' (χώρα). However, where such words have come to be regarded as naturalised Arabic, like اسقف (usḳuf) from ἐπίσκοπος, the above rule has not been applied.

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[1] Cf. G. Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire* (= *Studi e Testi*), Città del Vaticano, 1934, n° 134; also Marcus Simaika Pacha assisted by Yassā 'Abd Al-Masīḥ, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, Cairo 1939, Vol. I, n° 93 (*Publications of the Coptic Museum*).

[2] Cf. G. Graf, *op. cit.*, n° 503, and Marcus Simaika Pacha, *op. cit.*, Cairo 1942, Vol. II, fasc. 1, n° 644.

[3] For the system of transliteration of Arabic used in this work, see the table of *Transcription of Arabic Letters*, p. xi.



The Society is indebted to M. Togo Mina, Assistant-Curator of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, for the revision and correction of the text and translation, as well as the final proof-reading. The Society hereby expresses its deep gratitude to him.

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TEXTES ET DOCUMENTS

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH,

KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

Severus

BY

SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ,

BISHOP OF AL-AŠMŪNĪN

VOLUME II, PART I

KHAËL II — SHENOUTI I

(A. D. 849 — 880)

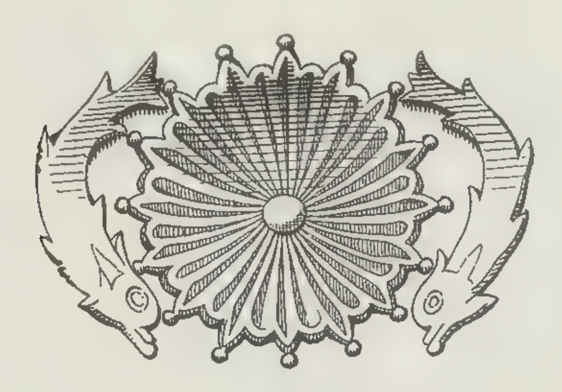
TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

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LE CAIRE

1943



HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS
OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH

